REPORT RESUMES

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FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA--THEIR INTENT, DERIVATION, AND DEVELOPMENT. PHASE 2--EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY IN SELECTED NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS.

BY- BOLIBAUGH, JERRY B. HANNA, PAUL R.
STANFORD UNIV., CALIF., SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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A TWO-PART STUDY WAS CONDUCTED--(1) A HISTORICAL RECORD SURVEY AND CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA FROM 1815 TO 1962, AND (2) AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER WHAT INFLUENCE THESE STRATEGIES HAD ON THE EDUCATION OF A FRENCH COLONY AND TO NOTE CHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE SINCE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COLONY GAINED INDEPENDENCE. THE EFFORT WENT BEYOND THE SEQUENTIAL DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES TO INCLUDE THE CONDITIONS, THE EVENTS, AND THE ATTITUDES WHICH LED TO THEIR FORMATION, ACTIVATION, AND MODIFICATION. THE THREE ANALYTICAL SECTIONS OF THE REPORT ARE CONCERNED WITH--(1) THE INTENTIONAL ASPECT OF THE EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES, (2) THE DERIVATION OF THESE STRATEGIES, AND (3) MODES OF STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT, NOTING PARTICULARLY THE CHARACTERISTICS OF BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR ROLES IN THE FORMATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL POLICY. RESULTS REVEALED THAT THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVOR IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA HAD MANY POSITIVE ASPECTS--(1) A FIRM ULTIMATE PURPOSE, (2) GUIDANCE BY PERCEPTIVE PLANNERS OF GRAND STRATEGY, AND (3) CONTINUING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION. THESE WERE COUNTERPOSED, HOWEVER, BY A SERIOUS LACK OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT, INADEQUATE GRASS-ROOT IMPLEMENTATION, RAPID TURNOVER IN TOP ADMINISTRATION, AND AN INABILITY TO ADAPT TO THE NEEDS OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, EVEN AS DETERMINED BY THE FRENCH THEMSELVES. (HB)

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EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY IN SELECTED NEWLY DEVELOPING NATIONS

Phase 2: French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Their Intent, Derivation, and Development

Cooperative Research Project No. 1032

Jerry B. Bolibaugh
Paul R. Hanna

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION CENTER
School of Education
Stanford University

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Jerry B. Bolibaugh

Paul R. Hanna
Project Director

Comparative Education Center
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

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FOREWORD

We live in a period of great expectations. The peoples of the newly developing nations have visions of a life potentially free from hunger, disease, ignorance, and serfdom. These awakened peoples, constituting a formerly depressed two-thirds of the human family, are on the march in Africa, in Asia, and in the Americas. They are determined to create viable economic institutions, laws, and mechanisms through which they can assure themselves and their posterity of health, longevity, the material necessities, and even some luxuries. They seek dynamic but dependable political institutions and customs through which justice and freedom may be maintained. They desire social conditions which generate equality of opportunity and create respect for human dignity.

In these heroic efforts to create a better life, the leaders of the nations conceive of education as the tool to shape the new life for their people. To produce more food and fiber, farmers and fishermen must be taught modern practices. To process producer and consumer goods efficiently from the raw resources of field, forest, mine, and sea, labor and management must know modern industrial techniques. To distribute the goods and services, men must learn the economics of marketing and of consuming. Education--both general and technical--has become a major weapon in the struggle of economic growth. Similarly in changing old customs and in developing new political and social institutions and mores, the school plays an increasingly crucial role.

During the past decade the newly developing nations have requested assistance in education planning from the UN agencies FAO, ILO, WHO, UNESCO, and the Technical Assistance Board. More recently the World Bank has made loans for educational projects. On a bilateral nation-to-nation basis, the United States, the USSR, France, Germany, Japan, the Commonwealth Nations, and other technologically developed peoples have been loaning their educational technicians to those nations requesting aid. The largest of such aid programs has been that provided by the United States Agency for International Development. Private corporations, foundations, and other segments of the United States community have made an additional contribution through their non-governmental channels to the gigantic task of creating the educational establishments overseas within which human resources could be developed.

While there is general agreement on the crucial role of education in the developmental processes, there is a critical scarcity of research to discover what educational approaches and strategies may be most effective under differing national and cultural conditions. With assistance from the United States Government, private foundations and corporations, and other sources, the Stanford University School of Education and the Stanford Research Institute have been engaged since 1955 in a variety of research activities to help fill the gap in research-based literature on the subject of educational investment in nation building. Planned, underway, or completed is a series of research projects investigating education as an instrument of national policy in (1) nations emerging from several differing colonial systems, (2) several technologically newly developing nations that have always been politically independent, and (3) several advanced nations that have a long history of independence. From the series of comparative studies an attempt ultimately will be made to extract any generalizations and principles that may lie unobserved or untested at present. From these generalizations and principles there might be constructed strategies that would help both donor and recipient as educational technical assistance is brought to bear on nation building.

The study here reported is one of this series. Under a contract with the Cooperative Research Bureau of the U.S. Office of Education, Mr. Jerry B. Bolibaugh, then a Research Assistant in the Stanford Comparative Education Center, was sent to Paris, France, to study French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Their Intent, Derivation, and Development. Friends and colleagues in the French government and universities opened their archives and libraries to Mr. Bolibaugh. Our American associates in the Embassy, in AID, in private foundations, and in private life, contributed materially to the pursuit of the research. Their encouragement and assistance are gratefully acknowledged.

At the same time Mr. Bolibaugh was searching the historical records in Paris, Mr. Gerard Lucas was conducting a companion research in the Congo, Brazzaville, to discover what influence the French strategies had on the education of a French colony, and to note what changes have taken place since these people gained their independence. Thus, in the pair of studies by Bolibaugh and Lucas[1] we are able to present an important aspect of education in a new nation recently granted the opportunity to form its own objectives and strategies.

Mr. Bolibaugh subsequently was awarded the Stanford University doctorate for his research. In cutting the original manuscript for publication, it was necessary to condense much of the material. The full manuscript may be seen in the Cubberley Library at Stanford University and is also available from University Microfilms, Inc., 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, under the title French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Their Intent, Derivation, and Development.

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[1] Gerard Lucas, Formal Education in the Congo-Brazzaville: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice (Stanford University dissertation, n.d.).

The excerpt here published presents the more significant findings and conclusions of Mr. Bolibaugh's research. It is our hope that agencies and individuals, intent upon using education as an instrument of national purpose, will profit from this report and its companion volume by Mr. Lucas.

Paul R. Hanna, Director
Comparative Education Center
School of Education
Stanford University

September 15, 1964

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INTRODUCTION

The drive for formal political independence by the territories of Sub-Saharan Africa has necessarily been followed by the difficult task of evolving viable nations through socio-economic development. Two major objectives of this development are the creation of national unity and the establishment of a modern economy. Education is viewed as an essential instrument for the pursuit of both of these aspirations. This vigorous focus upon education, a worldwide phenomenon, has revealed the primitive state of our knowledge of the educational process and of the outcomes of its use in such circumstances. The interdisciplinary study of the role of education in national development has evolved as the enormous complexities posed by the acceleration of modernization through education has become increasingly apparent.

To date, insufficient research-based literature exists in many aspects of this important activity. Hopefully, this study will make a minor contribution to the understanding requisite to effective educational programming for newly developing countries. It is based upon the assumption that much can be learned from the experiences of the European powers in the realm of colonial education, and, since the prevalent educational systems and philosophies in the newly developing countries are largely derived from European models, the study may provide American educational advisers with a greater understanding of the continuing influence and interests of one European power, France. In addition, the study attempts to reveal certain basic problems which may be inherent in all bilateral and multi-lateral educational programs.

However, since the research is oriented toward an inquiry into French intentions and plans for Sub-Saharan education, it deals with the complex problems of policy implementation at the grass-root level in Africa only as an element influencing metropolitan policy process.

It would be well at this point to define a few terms that will be used throughout this study. The term, "French," refers to the indigenous people of metropolitan France. "Metropolitan," as used here, is derived from "metropole"--referring to the motherland. The phrase, "policy process," concerns the development and implementation of policy. Since policy is normally defined as goals and guides for action, the policy process consists of the formulation of goals and guides for action and the inauguration and direction of appropriate programs to implement policy.

Although the application of the word "strategy" to the field of education is a relatively recent phenomenon, the concept of rational educational planning is not at all new. Certainly, the French have practiced this art in relation to their colonies for well over a century. According to their own testimony they have best been able to prescribe rational social development plans where they have met the least cultural resistance; Sub-Saharan Africa is one such place. Hence, it is believed the term "educational strategies" may be accurately employed in this study. Such strategies are defined as the planning and directing of educational development based upon socioeconomic objectives derived from French colonial policy, which, in turn, may be considered as one aspect of French national policy.

The study falls into two major parts. The first part consists of the chronological reconstruction of French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa in their developmental context. This history begins with the events leading to the first educational planning for French Sub-Saharan Africa in 1815 and terminates with those events occurring in 1962. The second part of the study contains three analytical sections and the conclusion.

In the first part of the study an attempt has been made to integrate the various raw materials to be analyzed in subsequent sections. Thus, the concern goes beyond the sequential description of educational strategies to include the conditions, the events, and the attitudes which led to their formulation, activation, and modification. While this tends to produce a potpourri, the writer believes the wider context provides a more realistic background for the following sections than a mere recitation of educational plans.

The first analytical section is concerned with the intentional aspect of the educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa. Obviously, plans are devised for purposes and these purposes constitute the subject matter to be made explicit. Since the study covers almost a century and a half, the problem arises as to the consistency of intentions through time and poses the following question: Did the ends remain essentially the same despite changing conditions and variations in the means throughout the period?

The second analytical section deals with the derivation of the educational strategies. The problem involves the identification of their source or origin with this central question: What causal factors brought about the formulation of given educational strategies?

The third analytical section considers the modes of development of given educational strategies, noting particularly the characteristics of both private and public organizations and their roles in the formulation and implementation of national policy. Inter- and intra-organizational friction and tendencies to abort rather than support stated policies are demonstrated as well as conflicts among different aspects of colonial policy.

The concluding section consists of a succinct restatement of the most significant findings with an emphasis upon continuing and emerging French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa, including those factors which operate for and against their successful implementation. An attempt is also made to abstract from these findings those entities which appear to have universal relevance for cross-cultural educational endeavors.

Procedurally, the study was conducted in three phases:

The preparatory work consisted in the survey of the relevant literature available at Stanford University, the formulation of the problem, and the establishment of overseas contacts and base of operations.

The second phase, made possible by a Cooperative Research Contract from the United States Office of Education with Stanford University, was conducted during the 1961-1962 academic year in Paris, France, followed by a brief period in Dakar, Senegal. It involved the study of official documents and other written records; interviews with leading French officials and with some Africans in France and in Senegal; participation in and observation of a seminar and other meetings designed to prepare Frenchmen as overseas technical advisors and to groom Africans for important educational positions within their own nations; and visits to various types of schools and educational administrative service centers in both France and Senegal.

Finally, after returning to the United States, the history of French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa was reconstructed and analyzed, and the data were prepared in dissertation form.

The literature employed in the study may be divided into official and unofficial categories. In turn, the official literature may be subdivided into a primary group of original official texts while the secondary collection consisted of commentaries and reports largely summarizing past accomplishments in quantitative form, but occasionally reviewing policy and problems of policy implementation. Thus the primary materials consisted of ministerial reports to the President of the French Republic and statements of purpose prefacing executive decrees; executive decrees and ordinances; ministerial correspondence and instructions to colonial officials; laws and treaties; records of parliamentary debates and committee reports; records of meetings of colonial directors of education; intra-ministerial memorandums; ordinances and instructions of colonial governors and education officials; reports of official bodies and individuals in official publications; and specific development and education plans or projects. The secondary materials included reports compiled primarily for public consumption as well as comprehensive intercolonial reports primarily designed for widespread official consumption.

The bulk of these materials emanated from the ministry responsible for the colonies with some of the decrees being cosigned by a number of ministries. Other important sources include the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Cooperation, the General Secretariat of the Government, the Journal Official, the University of Paris, the Government General of French West Africa, and the Republic of Senegal.

The unofficial literature may be divided into two categories: one pertaining directly to Sub-Saharan education and the other bearing only indirectly upon the topic.

Sub-Saharan education-oriented literature, primarily the product of high French colonial educational administrators, is largely focussed upon the development and implementation of educational strategies at the colonial level. References to the metropolitan role in the educational policy process are usually brief and incidental. The most accessible to the public, this literature tends to lead the reader to the assumption that educational policy originated at the colonial level. This impression is furthered by the structure and function of French administration which will be discussed in the section on the development of educational strategies.

Since some of these authors, as chiefs of education, were frequently responsible for the restricted and unavailable annual and special education reports to the Ministry, their critical unofficial publications probably reveal generalizations of the detailed information fed back to the Metropole in the official, confidential form. Thus, when combined with a study of the official metropolitan literature, these works assist in the clarification of the total metropolitan-colonial policy process relationship. The reaction of the Ministry to feedback and the response to metropolitan policy within the colonies become more apparent.

A few articles prepared by Africans in the late 1950's provide abbreviated and extremely critical versions of the educational development in French Sub-Saharan Africa. They indicate the attitude of, at least, one vocal faction of the indigenous peoples to the French educational endeavor at a time prior to independence.

The unofficial literature containing indirect references to Sub-Saharan education includes a wide range of topics published in the form of scholarly books, journal articles, and dissertations. Although predominantly comprising French publications, American and English sources provide important supplements to this material.

Our study, then, consists of the chronological reconstruction of French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa in their developmental context, of an analysis of this history to clarify French intentions over time, and of an effort to determine, insofar as possible, the causal factors and the developmental patterns contributing to the evolution and to the characteristics of the identified educational strategies.

The inquiry seeks to explore these basic questions: What were the French educational strategies? What intentions or purposes motivated the formulation of these strategies? What factors led to the development of the identified intentions or purposes? How were these intentions translated into explicit policy and programs? What factors hindered the policy process pertaining to Sub-Saharan educational development? To what extent may the findings be generalized beyond the French experience in Sub-Saharan Africa?

Although these questions are primarily concerned with French metropolitan attitudes, objectives, and actions rather than subsequent events and outcomes in Africa, it is impossible entirely to divorce metropolitan policy-making from colonial-level personnel and events. Thus, the interactions between metropolitan and colonial officials and the occasional detailing of African conditions and events become necessary ingredients of the study.

FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES: A CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

This section represents an attempt to reconstruct chronologically French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa during the period from 1815 to 1962. The section will be divided into three parts, each detailing the events of several historical periods: the Primitive, the Formative, and the Modern.

The Primitive Period covers the segment of time from 1815 to 1870, beginning with the conception of the first development plan for Senegal and concluding with the Franco-Prussian War. This fifty-five year span was characterized by major political changes within the Metropole, shifting policies for Sub-Saharan Africa, and the concentration of metropolitan attention upon one colony, Senegal.

The Formative Period covers the life of the Third French Republic, commencing with its inception in 1870 and concluding with the Brazzaville Conference of 1944. This period witnessed the development of a permanent colonial administration, the popularization of colonialism within the Metropole, and the establishment of a comprehensive educational plan for West Africa based upon clearly defined objectives. For the most part, Equatorial Africa remained on the fringe of the French educational endeavor with the missions permitted to dominate the field. Only near the end of the period did the government begin seriously to structure public education.

The Modern Period, beginning with the conclusion of the Second World War and continuing through 1962, marked the rise of the coopted African elite to the metropolitan policy-making level. This phenomenon forced a reorientation of the educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa resulting in problems and conflicts which remain to be resolved.

THE PRIMITIVE PERIOD: 1815-1870.

This fifty-five year period was characterized, as previously noted, by the concentration of metropolitan attention, as far as education is concerned, upon one Sub-Saharan territory, Senegal. The French had contact with the West African coast as early as the fourteenth century and a permanent trading post was established at the mouth of the Senegal River near the close of the sixteenth century. Although a few other trading posts developed as French ships ranged south along the Guinea Coast, these small and isolated stations could hardly be classified as colonies. Paradoxically, the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte and the subsequent treaties of Paris and Vienna opened the way for the development of a French Sub-Saharan Africa.

Napoleon had been too involved elsewhere to be concerned with such trivial trading posts, but after his fall and when the Treaties of Paris and Vienna brought token restoration of the Empire in the form of a few scattered and small islands, five cities in India, and the posts located in Senegal, the French regained a slender symbol of grandeur and the Government of the Restoration tenaciously pursued the repossession of these territories.

The First Development Plan for Senegal. In 1815, Louis XVIII appointed Baron Portal, a shipowner from Bordeaux, as the head of the General Direction for the Colonies,[1] the administrative section of the Ministry of Navy exclusively responsible for colonial affairs. Portal proceeded to devise bold development plans for Senegal and two other colonies based upon the pacte coloniale, the pre-Revolutionary mercantile doctrine under which the colonies traded exclusively with France using only French ships to export raw materials and to receive manufactured goods in return. As a consequence, the development of Senegal was to be directed toward the establishment and expansion of local agricultural and mineral production.

The Governor of Senegal, Schmaltz, felt that the colony had potential if sufficient funds and manpower were available to make Portal's plans operative; however, he recognized that the Metropole could not expect immediate profit from its investment. By 1819, Portal's confidence in the project had been undermined by the lack of substantial progress and adverse reports from the local military commander, and confidence was needed to overcome Parliament's persistent opposition to heavy expenditures for colonial development. The fall of Richelieu, and consequently of Portal, in 1821, led to an even more cautious approach to developmental plans. Later colonial administrators lacked Portal's strong purposes and influence. As a consequence, although the policies of Portal remained on paper, they lacked consistent application. Ends and means for the colonies were generally viewed in terms of immediate economic return rather than long-range balanced socio-economic development.

The Introduction of Formal Education. The basic written instructions of May 18, 1816, to the first Governor of the reoccupation period, Colonel Schmaltz, contained no mention of formal education. The initial social strategy called for a conversion of indigenous customs and mentality through extensive Christian evangelization and fruitful economic development.

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[1] Usually referred to as the Central Administration in this text.

However, two and a half months after the issuance of these instructions, the Ministry informed Colonel Schmaltz of its intention to send a lay school teacher to Senegal with the mission of initiating elementary education and of determining the most effective means for its rapid expansion. This expansion was to take place once the natives had been partially acculturated through the medium of Christianity and the new economic structure.

On March 19, 1818, some sisters of the Order of Saint Joseph of Cluny arrived in Senegal. Their first efforts were directed into the operation of a hospital with the education of a few girls being an incidental activity. On July 13, 1826, an ordinance established the first girls' school, thus giving official sanction to the nuns' serious pursuit of native education.

In the meantime, Colonel Schmaltz, an experienced administrator from Southeast Asia, had quickly sensed the inherent dangers of a direct attack upon Islam in Senegal and communicated his beliefs to the Ministry. By the end of 1818, the Ministry had endorsed the Governor's position and reversed its strategy to employ direct religious conversion as a major implemental instrument in the early stages of the colonization plan. The new vehicle of social transformation, to work in conjunction with the institution of free labor and cash crop economy, was to be elementary education.

The Ministry anticipated no formidable problems in the rapid development of education in Senegal, for the method to be employed was the monitorial system devised by two Englishmen, Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. Particularly appealing was the low cost of initiating and maintaining the system. The Minister of Navy instituted a recruitment and personnel policy to ensure his control of the operation. His approval was necessary on all actions pertaining to teacher appointments, salary schedules, and promotions. Teacher candidates were supplied by the Ministries of Public Instruction and of the Interior.

Reports from the Governor indicated that the first teacher, a Monsieur Dard, was diligently applying himself to his assigned task. Not only had the latter mastered the indigenous tongue, Wolof, but he had compiled a voluminous vocabulary and constructed a grammar for the language which had no written tradition. In requesting the metropolitan government to publish Dard's linguistic work, Schmaltz noted that, in addition to its significance in the formal learning process, the availability of a language book would enable the local French officials to learn sufficient Wolof to facilitate communication with the natives. Approval by a committee of Orientalists resulted in the publication of a vocabulary text and a grammar book in 1825 and 1826.

Dard, however, discouraged by a critical attack by the Apostolic Prefect of Senegal, requested and received permission to return home.

The direction of the main school at Saint-Louis, the government seat, was assumed in 1820 by a second teacher, Dasprés, now the only fully professional lay teacher in the colony. Unfortunately, Dasprés died in 1825. The new teacher-principal, de Perreuse, was an auxiliary clerk of the colonial administration. With the approval of his appointment, the Ministry set a precedent--the reliance upon non-professional personnel as teachers.

Meanwhile, in France, Dard did not forget the mission to which he had been assigned in 1817 and presented the Ministry with his plan for the rapid development of Senegalese education in 1822. Insisting the results of his teaching had proved the excellent academic ability of many Wolof Negroes, Dard's program[2] included the following three points: (1) establishment of a secondary school at Saint-Louis; (2) extension of Afro-French schools into the interior as soon as textbooks in Wolof were published; (3) reliance upon natives trained by Dard as founders and teachers of interior schools. Dard further indicated that the plan could be realized only if he were appointed head of the colony's education system; his knowledge of the language and culture and his numerous contacts with interior chiefs made him alone competent.

The Ministry requested the advice of the new and esteemed Governor Roger in the matter. Roger, seemingly influenced by the lingering questionable reputation of Dard, persuaded the Minister to employ Dard in France rather than return him to Senegal. When Dard's language books were published in 1825 and 1826, however, the former schoolmaster reopened his campaign to win acceptance of his 1822 plan. However, both de Perreuse and Governor Gerbidon refuted Dard's statements as to the intelligence of the natives and the supposed knowledge that they had acquired from him. Gerbidon believed the natives too near barbarism for secondary education. The issue was closed.

In 1822, the General Superior of the Sisters of Saint-Joseph, R. M. Jahouvey, approached the Ministry with a plan to bring Senegalese boys and girls to France in order to educate them as priests and nuns or teachers. The Minister requested the opinion of Governor Roger. Roger, while approving these plans, stated that he would prefer the establishment of a teacher-training institution in Africa with a European staff if the prohibitive costs of such an undertaking did not make it impractical. For at least the first year he recommended that only ten pupils of each sex, half mulattoes and half Negroes with the boys from seven to fifteen years old and the girls, seven to thirteen, be sent to France.

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[2] France, Archives de l'ancien Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Sénégal, Series X, File 2a, April 20, 1822. (This source is subsequently referred to as: France, Archives F.O.M.)

A Policy Shift for Senegal, 1829. When Roger was appointed as the first civilian governor of Senegal in 1821, his initial instructions from the Ministry indicated a continuation of Baron Portal's policy of promotion of profitable crop production. Roger set up experimental agricultural stations, persuaded the Ministry to send him technicians, used soldiers as both technicians and laborers over the protests of the officers, built farm equipment, encouraged Europeans to start plantations, and attempted to stimulate agricultural education through the establishment of an agricultural society. However, the complex problem of indigenous manpower plagued him until, in 1826, he asked to be replaced.

Thus, a naval purser attached to the Central Administration of the Colonies was sent to Senegal in the capacity of temporary Governor to conduct an investigation of the colony's potential value in order to decide if further metropolitan investments were warranted. After two months on the scene, Governor Gerbidon reported to the Minister that Senegal would never become a colony of cultivated lands. The bad climate and poor soil conditions, the low quality of the indigenous manpower, and the harassment of hostile tribes were listed as reasons for this strong opinion.

The Minister hesitated to accept such a radical opinion without further confirmation. Therefore, in 1828, he appointed the Assistant Director of the Central Administration, Jubelin, to conduct a second investigation in the role of Governor. Remaining in the colony for a year and a half, Jubelin informed the Minister that Senegal had promise, but that considerable time and further support would be needed before substantial return on the Metropole's investment could be realized.

Having neither time nor further support available, the Minister in 1829 reversed the policy inaugurated in 1815 and called a halt to the socio-economic development of Senegal. France had been in an economic depression since 1826 and the Constitutional Monarchy was in serious political trouble.

The Subsequent Reform of Native Education. Among the inquiries initiated by Governor Jubelin was one concerning the status of native education. Since the departure of the first teacher-principal, Dard, in 1821, little or no progress had been made in the field of formal education. Jubelin reported that a major task of local colonization was gradually to erase the differences of education, language, and customs. The Governor saw the means of accomplishing this objective by introducing natives to the French language and way of life through the annual production of a young indigenous elite who would, in turn, gradually propagate civilization to the peoples of the interior. A commission, appointed to gain more information and to detail recommendations concerning native education, submitted such a logical and thorough report that the Minister reacted immediately and selected a Professor Ballin, formerly of the École Militaire, to reform the school to meet the well-defined objective: elimination of cultural-linguistic differences among the pupils through the acquisition of the French language, customs, and attitudes.

Although Ballin began his task with considerable promise he returned to France after a few months. In 1835, after a succession of professional and non-professional teachers, the Minister approved a reform plan based upon the 1829 recommendations of Jubelin and the Commission. In addition to specifying the curriculum and the division of classes, the plan called for the subsidization by the colony of a maximum of ten native boarders with the criteria for their selection being lack of parental resources, adherence to the Christian religion, and intellectual and moral worth. The teacher-principal was to submit a quarterly report to a newly created supervisory board composed of colonial officials, the local head of the Church, and the mayor of Saint-Louis. This principal was to be appointed by the Minister with assistant teachers being recruited locally and monitors chosen from among the best pupils. The Saint-Louis School was to become the model for existing and all future schools. In a gesture of concrete support, the Ministry sent twenty-five books, dealing primarily with French grammar and Christianity, along with its endorsement of the plan.

Native Education in the Metropole. The program instigated by Mother Jahouvey for the education of selected Senegalese natives in France had met with unexpected outcomes. Six of the original group died within three years, forcing the relocation of the school to southern France. At this time, Mother Jahouvey asked for financial support from the government.

The Governor and his Privy Council in 1833 decided in favor of a partial subsidization and continuance of the program, provided that certain modifications be made in the curriculum. However, the program was not modified and parents, worried over the health of their children and generally opposed to the priestly profession, continued to reclaim them. By 1835 only three Senegalese remained in France. They were all males preparing for the priesthood.

The July Monarchy, 1830-1848. The initiative for colonial expansion and development from 1830 to 1842 came from the Director of the Central Administration for the Colonies, Filleau Saint-Hilaire, a disciple of Portal and of the pacte coloniale. Although some of his projects failed because of lack of support, some tangible if fragmentary results were obtained including the establishment of French settlements in Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Gabon. Saint-Hilaire's successor, Galos (1842-1847), maintained a more cautious policy of expansion; nevertheless, the increased significance of the colonies was implicit in the government's act of 1847 establishing the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Jubelin, who had instigated the reform of education in Senegal, was the first man to hold the new position. The Government of the July Monarchy took no impressive action concerning further internal development of Senegal.

The Slavery Question. Although the slave trade had been officially abolished in 1815, clandestine traffic continued during the Restoration Government. The Law of March 4, 1831, voted by the Parliament of the July Monarchy, brought an end to most of these illegal operations. However, the continued existence of slavery itself resulted in constant friction between the metropolitan liberals and the conservatives and French colonials. Nevertheless, the outright universal abolition of slavery was avoided during the life of the July Monarchy.

A New Strategy for Native Education. The recommendations of 1829 as incorporated in the 1835 educational reform for Senegal instituted French as the language of instruction which meant a dependence upon metropolitan teachers. The scarcity and instability of lay personnel led the Ministry in 1837 to negotiate with a religious teaching order, the Brothers of Ploermel. A formal agreement to this effect was signed by the Minister of the Navy and the General Superior of the Brothers on May 16, 1837.

Soon after the arrival of the first contingent of Brothers, the religious domination of education was completed by the ordinance of July 23, 1842, which officially placed the system under the supervision of the local head of the Catholic Church, a priest named Maynard. The latter made his first comprehensive report on native education to the Governor in 1844. In it, the priest emphasized moral education should precede intellectual instruction and that this priority required the residence of the pupils at the schools in order to keep them away from their families.

Father Maynard also advocated a two-track system in which the best pupils would receive practical arithmetic and geometry in order to prepare them for river and coastal navigation and for management of the interior trading posts. The others would be subjected to an apprenticeship training based upon native industries which the government would develop. To further this latter program, he proposed the Brothers set up workshops devoted to the manual arts and that a model working community be established as a training ground for the neighboring tribes. The Ministry, however, did not respond to these recommendations.

An Experiment with Secondary Education. The Ministry took a special interest in the three remaining Senegalese students in the Metropole who had been ordained as priests. While sponsoring additional education for the young ecclesiastics, it suggested to the Governor that more young Senegalese might be sent to France to be trained for the priesthood in view of the services they could eventually render. At about the same time (1841-1842), the Father Superior of the Saint-Esprit Seminary proposed to the metropolitan government the establishment of secondary education in the colonies.

In 1842 the African priests were sent home to establish a metropolitan-type secondary school; the clergymen set about their job with energy and fanfare. The main subject of the secondary curriculum consisted of Latin with thirty enrollees in the first class. Unfortunately, they represented the best students from the elementary school, and since the monitorial system prevailed, the primary school program was paralyzed with every monitor, regardless of whether he had completed his course work or not, recruited for the secondary school.

A feud developed between the elementary and secondary school teachers. The local government initially backed the Senegalese priests and the secondary school. Historically, the Ministry had given priority to primary education in the colonies and it remained consistent. At first, the metropolitan agency merely questioned the utility of stressing a dead language where a curriculum of commercial subjects appeared more appropriate. A few months later it took direct action by cutting the scholarship allotment for the secondary school and by prohibiting the addition of the highest three secondary grade levels. At the same time, the Ministry curtailed the number of Senegalese graduates permitted to continue their studies in the Metropole. In addition, the Minister proposed the colony set up a trade school which would receive one half of the best graduates from the elementary school with the other half being assigned to the secondary school. Interestingly enough, these restrictive actions took place after Jubelin, the inaugurator of the investigation of Senegalese education in 1829, became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1847. The cumulative irritations generated from the inception of the high school ensured its eventual downfall. Contributing to the latter event were the scandals arising from the personal conduct of the three Senegalese priests involving intemperance, women, and the misappropriation of funds. Local support for the school was completely withdrawn in 1849 with ministerial approval following a review of the dismal postgraduate history of ten students who had been sent to France.

The Revolution of February, 1848. The collapse of the Constitutional Monarchy (1814-1848) was brought about by the ineptitude of the old regime and the zeal of Parisian liberalism. Organized in February, 1848, the Provisional Government resigned in June as a consequence of the conflict between radicals in three days of savage street fighting. In November, the Constituent Assembly adopted an American-type constitution despite misgivings that it might lead to a dictatorship. On the tenth of December, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected

President of the Second Republic by the conservative votes of the provincial middle and peasant classes. During these months of drastic upheaval, profound changes in colonial policy occurred although the brevity of the Provisional regime limited the implemental phase of these changes.

The philosophy behind the colonial policy of the Provisional Government may be summarized as a desire to extend the benefits of French democracy beyond the Metropole. An executive decree of March 4, 1848, later confirmed by the new Constitution of November, declared that "slavery could not exist in any French territory."[3] This principle was rendered operational by a decree pronounced on April 27, 1848, which granted immediate freedom to all slaves and pardoned those under light penal sentences. Under an old law of 1833 granting French citizenship to all free men in the colonies, an estimated five hundred thousand slaves received new civil and political rights. Hence, the natives of the free communes of Senegal (Gorée and Saint-Louis, and later, Dakar and Rufisque) gained the right to vote for one representative to the French Parliament.

The Beginning of Vocational Education. With the emancipation of a half of a million slaves, the metropolitan government recognized the need to complement this social reform with others designed to mold this potentially explosive group. Hence, the implemental emancipation decree of April 27, 1848, prescribed that each colony establish a large trade school.

Since the introduction of education in Senegal, the curriculum had been restricted to academic subjects despite occasional recommendations that a trade school be established. The Ministry now desired that a large trade school, analogous to those in France--run along military lines and with at least one hundred and twenty pupils--be established. The Governor appointed a commission to organize the school. The commission's plan, as finally reported to Paris, included forty-eight instead of a hundred and twenty scholarships with the theoretical teaching to be done by officers and the practical instruction by non-commissioned officers at the local military workshops. However, the plan was never put into operation, and Hardy reports[4] that there is no evidence to indicate that the Ministry even took the trouble to respond to it. With the election of Louis Napoleon as the

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3. Henri Blet, Historie de la Colonisation Francaise (Grenoble: B. Arthaud, 1946), Vol. II, p. 162.

4. Georges Hardy, L'Enseignement au Sénégal de 1817 à 1854 (Paris: E. Larose, 1920), p. 89.

President of the Second Republic, the grandiose plans of the metropolitan liberals ended.

Certainly the French in Senegal had no desire to implement the plan. The emancipation of the slaves had had little effect in the colony. Only twelve thousand slaves were awarded citizenship in the communes and they continued to function exactly as previous to their emancipation.

Thus, despite various decrees and recommendations, including a decree of May 4, 1848, calling for free compulsory elementary education, educational development lagged in Senegal. The secondary school had been abandoned; the trade school project remained on paper only; and the elementary school run by the Brothers of Ploermel had fallen into difficulty because of a severe shortage of personnel.

The African Commission of 1850. After the failure of the agricultural development plan, the Metropole had come to regard Senegal as a colony of commerce where, through mutually satisfactory trade arrangements with the various tribes along the rivers, profits could be obtained for France without heavy investments. However, from 1845 to 1849 the volume of commercial traffic between France and the colony had dropped from over 13,800,000 francs to a little over 7,200,000 francs.[5] Several governors had indicated the serious need for at least two actions if Senegal was to be a profitable colony: the investment of money to improve the transportation and communication facilities and the use of military force to pacify the tribes harassing the French trading operations. The Ministry remained unenthusiastic to these suggestions until the rise to power of Louis Napoleon led to a major policy shift.

In July, 1850, the Minister of the Navy and the Minister of Commerce formed an inter-ministerial commission to examine the commercial potential of French colonial possessions beginning with West Africa. After a year of detailed studies, the report[6] of the Commission supported the contention of Director Mestro of the Central Administration for the Colonies that a more positive and aggressive policy on the part of the Metropole could yield a rich and fertile future for Senegal. The Commission recommended renewed attention to agricultural development, the restructuring of commercial arrangements, the expansion of the zones of influence, the reoccupation of abandoned military forts and the pacification of marauding tribes, and a separate colonial administration situated at Gorée for the emerging trading posts along the Gulf of Guinea.

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[5] France, Archives F.O.M., Sénégal, Series XIII, File 2b, December, 1850.

[6] Ibid., File 3c, June 12, 1851.

Pro-Catholic Education in Senegal. The downfall of the liberal Provisional Government of the Second Republic and the subsequent rise to power of conservative forces halted the implementation of the extensive educational plans of the socialists and resulted in a pro-Catholic, anti-Moslem orientation of education in Senegal.

In June of 1851, the head of the Central Administration submitted a detailed report to the Minister of the Navy on the organization and curriculum of the Saint-Louis elementary school together with an evaluation of pupil achievement made by the Apostolic Prefect.[7] The school had approximately one hundred pupils organized into four grades. The curriculum was dominated by religious instruction and the language arts with French grammar emphasized in all but the beginning class. In the highest grade, in addition to a comprehensive catechism and grammar, the pupils received cursive and gothic writing, reading in Latin, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, the history of Christianity, and French history. The Apostolic Prefect's analysis of pupil achievement was quite negative; he reported the students grasped almost nothing aside from handwriting with a small minority showing promise in arithmetic. Nevertheless, the priest recommended the re-establishment of secondary education or the addition of a humanities class to the elementary school. The Ministry complied by sending a humanities teacher and by 1854 twelve to sixteen pupils were reported to be progressing satisfactorily in the study of Greek.

Concern was expressed by the local school supervisory committee in August of 1854 at the failure of the government schools to attract the large Moslem element. The committee requested the government to limit the Koranic schools by subjecting the teachers to examinations and the schools to close supervision. Parents would then be forced to channel their children into the official schools. In addition, the Ministry was asked to attach a teacher of Arabic to the Saint-Louis school as an added inducement to the Moslems.

However, the Brothers of Ploermel had requested the removal of some boarding natives, the sons of chiefs serving as hostages, whom they described as undisciplined and rebellious to conversion. The appointment of Army Captain Louis Faidherbe as Governor on December 16, 1854, led to the resolution of this problem the following year. He organized a special lay school for these hostages.

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[7] France, Archives F.O.M., Sénégal, Series X, File 5a, June 13, 1851.

The Status of French Sub-Saharan Education in 1854. By the end of 1854, official French schools in Senegal numbered four with some five hundred ninety pupils. Two schools were located at Saint-Louis and two on the Island of Gorée, and a fifth mission school opened near Dakar in 1855. Formal education remained virtually non-existent elsewhere, aside from the activities of a few missionaries scattered along the coast southward to Gabon. A small number of chiefs' sons from the Ivory Coast had been sent to France to be educated, but the future of all settlements south of Senegal was too undecided for substantial investments in education.

Colonial Affairs Under Napoleon III, 1850-1870. The expansion of education in Senegal, directly attributable to the African Commission's recommendations to strengthen the French hold on Senegal and to the subsequent ministerial order to this effect, was indirectly due to the new colonial policy, favoring overseas expansion, of Napoleon I. The failure of the Emperor closely to supervise the policy process, however, left the program dependent upon the initiative and interpretation of subordinates.

By a law of the Senate, who was responsible for colonial legislation during this period, most of the colonies, including Sub-Saharan Africa, were to be ruled by executive decree. This important legislation of May 3, 1854, re-established an ancient practice which, except for minor alterations, was continued under the Third and Fourth Republics.

Through a commercial treaty with the English, the Emperor broke the pacte coloniale. The industrial revolution swept France to rising tides of prosperity and Senegal participated in this economic boom as trade conditions were improved in the fifties and sixties.

The Policy for Senegal. As early as 1844, Bouet-Willaumez had proposed to the Minister the establishment of an Office of External Affairs under the Governor of Senegal in order to stabilise relations with independent indigenous groups:

> Since the repossession of Senegal, there has existed no external policy to be implemented in regard to the peoples who surround us. Usually, one Governor succeeds another every two years and it is precisely when they commence to identify with the problems and the native chiefs, when they could pass as experts, that they depart from the Colony leaving their successor to the mercy of all those who know how to take advantage of the latter's ignorance of local affairs.[8]

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[8] J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, "Los Etablissements de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique," Revue des Sciences Politiques, Vol. 51 (1928), p. 255.

Cost and indecision had forestalled the acceptance of such an organization and the accompanying intent for a firm French stand against the tactics of some of the native groups. It was not until the appointment of Ducos as Minister of the Navy and Colonies, shortly after the establishment of the Empire, that the policy of expansion and pacification was vigorously pursued. Ducos ordered Governor Protet in January, 1853, to implement the policy recommended by the Commission of 1850 and approved by Napoleon over a year earlier. When Protet proved timid in carrying out his instructions after two years, an army captain who had shown promise in a local military campaign as well as through his excellent reports to the Metropole, received a field appointment as Governor, replacing Protet. Captain Faidherbe had already justified his appointment by the time Prince Jerome Bonaparte became Minister of the newly created Ministry of Algeria and the Colonies in 1858. The Prince and the Captain had similar points of view. The former was interested in Senegal and wrote lengthy instructions to Faidherbe concerning its development. The Prince envisioned the colony as a center of great agricultural production with the natives as producers and the French as traders. He took a personal delight in being more progressive than the Emperor and injected a degree of liberalism and direction to colonial policy which continued for several years after his brief tenure of office.

Faidherbe's Accomplishments. Faidherbe, during his years of government, managed to accomplish many of the objectives defined by policy-makers from Baron Portal through Prince Jerome Bonaparte. By the time of his departure for France, Senegal was a relatively compact colony extending along the coast from approximately sixty kilometers north of Saint-Louis to about thirty kilometers south of the Sasamance River. Roughly this represented more than four hundred kilometers of coastline, with French control extending into the interior from an estimated average of fifty kilometers to even greater depth along the rivers.

Such territorial acquisition was partially based upon energetic military response to hostility which so many governors in the past had proposed only to be denied by the Metropole. But an enlightened native policy contributed significantly to Faidherbe's success. Faidherbe was a Republican enthusiast of the Provisional Government of the Second Republic, and a friend and admirer of Victor Schoelcher, the symbol of the anti-slavery movement. Hence, one of his main concerns was the betterment of the position of the Negro. Because of his humanitarian interest, Faidherbe studied the native customs and developed an unusual command of two of the major indigenous languages, Wolof and Peuhl. His linguistic abilities, his obvious empathy, and honorable reputation unexpectedly gained for France the allegiance of many Africans.

Agricultural production and commerce flourished under the conditions of peace and free trade established by the Governor. Transportation and communication facilities were expanded and improved, with the founding of the Port of Dakar in 1862 being of particular significance.

However, in addition to formidable adversaries such as El-Hadj-Omar and the growing financial limitations imposed by the Metropole, Faidherbe faced other annoyances. Despite the unprecedented era of prosperity, public opinion at Saint-Louis became increasingly hostile to the liberal and creative Governor. He was never popular with Napoleon III, who considered him a utopian radical. It became evident to Faidherbe, through the letters from the Ministry and the rising internal political dissension brewing at home, that he could no longer expect the degree of support necessary to implement his plans and he resigned in 1865.

Native Education Under Faidherbe. Education was viewed by the Governor as one of the basic means of colonization. This means was lost as long as the formal system of education remained a Christian monopoly in a predominantly Moslem country. Almost as soon as he became Governor, Faidherbe set about to create a lay system and tried to reassure the Moslems of its non-religious character. For his lay instructors, Faidherbe turned to the military. He was desirous of establishing communication with the masses and training a native elite to second the administration and extend French influence. To accomplish this latter objective, in 1856 he established the famous School of Hostages at Saint-Louis for the sons of chiefs. In an attempt to control the Koranic schools in Saint-Louis, he issued an ordinance on June 22, 1857, requiring all marabouts holding school to apply for a government permit. To obtain one, they had to prove they were born in Saint-Louis or had been in residence for seven years, demonstrate sufficient knowledge before an official board, and produce a certificate of good behavior from the mayor. Koranic school pupils were obliged to attend French classes at night as well. Franco-Moslem schools were developed with French instruction included along with the traditional religious and Arabic curriculum.

In 1857, a school board and director of the lay system were appointed. Under the Governor's personal and energetic supervision the system grew rapidly. By 1860, the school population of Saint-Louis alone numbered eight hundred sixty pupils excluding those attending obligatory night courses. By 1864, the public schools outnumbered the religious ones.

The Decline of Secular Native Education. With Faidherbe's departure in 1865, the system began to decline. Under Colonel Vallière, the School for Hostages was merged with the public primary school of Saint-Louis and eventually eliminated. One by one, the interior schools dropped out of existence, followed by the lay schools in the coastal towns which were abandoned or taken over by the missionaries. By 1883, all the schools of Senegal were in the hands of the Church according to one governmental report.[9] Another[10] listed only two lay instructors in the colony as of 1889.

Summary, 1815-1870. Crude beginnings and frustrated plans mark this era as the primitive period in the history of French educational strategies. The term "primitive" does not refer to the Africans, but to the French knowledge of Sub-Saharan Africa and their efforts to organize themselves as well as the natives. The limited technology at their disposal and the high rate of personnel turnover, as well as the changing metropolitan political scene, obviously contributed to the relative discontinuity in theory and practice. After the failure of the initial development plan in Senegal, uncertainty of purpose as well as of methodology plagued the French, until the policy recommendations of the African Commission of 1850 were endorsed by the imperialistic regime of the Second Empire. Even then, the fate of the settlements to the south of Senegal remained in doubt.

In such circumstances, substantial investment in native education could hardly be expected. Nevertheless, the Metropole, in the form of the responsible ministry, sporadically exhibited considerable interest in the educational development of Senegal and viewed the endeavor as an integral part of the total colonialization scheme. During a peak period of this metropolitan concern, native education in Senegal received a fresh impetus, although this often proved to be more in theory than fact. But a rough pattern of cause and effect does emerge with a correlation between metropolitan and subsequent colonial events. Obviously this pattern cannot be reduced to a simple metropolitan stimulus and colonial response relationship. Certain governors played a part in the metropolitan policy process, particularly at this time when a limited technology, a weak bureaucratic system, and a lack of precedence handicapped decision-making and policy control. However, the evidence indicates that the independence of the governors was more limited than sometimes inferred.

After the rejection of the unique educational proposals of the first principal, Dard, the educational plan of 1835, based upon the outcomes of the metropolitan inquiry of 1829, provided Senegal with its first significant educational direction and organization. The firm decision to employ French as the language of instruction and to use French education as an instrument to restructure the indigenous society along French lines was made at this time. Such a decision meant that metropolitan teachers had to be employed in large numbers and the past experiences with lay personnel caused the Government of the July Monarchy to turn to religious teaching orders. This strategy led to considerable confusion as to the ends and means of education since the purposes of the Church and the State were not entirely compatible.

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[9] Government General of French West Africa, L'Enseignement en A.O.F. (Corbeil: Editions Crete, 1906), p. 12.

[10] France, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, Recueil des Monographies Pedagogiques (Paris: Impremerio Nationale, 1889), Vol. I, p. 251.

The rise of Louis Napoleon beginning in 1848 brought a period of colonial expansion which made possible the inquiry of the African Commission of 1850 and the implementation of its recommendations in Senegal by Louis Faidherbe. Old ideas and practices such as the education of the hostage sons of chiefs and the development of a secular system employing the military as teachers were reactivated and perfected by the energetic and precise Governor. His return to France and the progressive decay within the Government of the Second Empire halted this last high point of educational activity during this fifty-five year era.

It is interesting to note that this rise and decline in the development of educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa generally paralleled the rise and decline of the metropolitan governments. Hence, there existed waves of theoretical and practical activity representing progress over the preceding ones from the quantitative standpoint. If the global qualitative and quantitative programs for the period may be characterized as limited, certain of the experiences and policies did provide a basis for the development to follow.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD: 1870-1944. The second historical period, covering the life-span of the Third Republic, lacked the basic political disruptions of the first era. Therefore, this period does not divide itself into segments based upon national political upheavals, but rather it exposes the chronological development of metropolitan attitudes and policies related to colonialism and overseas education. It also reveals the difficulties of implementing national policy in the field of native education.

The Third Republic, a result of the ignoble defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War, was plagued by several years of political struggle between the Royalists and the Republicans until the latter group emerged completely victorious in 1879. During this first post-war decade, considerable popular antagonism was directed toward colonialism, for the colonies had been of little or no assistance in the war. Expansion abroad became viewed as a waste of resources and manpower which should be devoted to avenging the French defeat and the regaining of Alsace-Lorraine. Under these circumstances, colonial affairs were left in a state of vegetation.

Popularization of Colonialism. With both the Right and the extreme Left in Parliament generally opposed to colonialism, it remained for a few ardent pro-colonialists to garner support from the vacillating moderates in Parliament. Composed of a small but powerful group of politicians, intellectuals, civil servants, and military men, the pro-colonialists eventually engineered new colonial acquisitions by presenting the nation with faits accomplis while engaging in a persistent campaign of public persuasion at the same time. This latter effort was aided by the growth of a grass roots nationalism throughout France as a reaction to the defeat of 1870.

The dramatic increase in the number of societies and conferences devoted to colonial affairs prior to the turn of the century demonstrates the success of the movement. The Geographic Society of France offers a case in point. Founded in 1821 in Paris, it never had more than 300 members until 1860. The local membership grew from 780 in 1873 to 2000 in 1881. Between 1871 and 1881, eleven other societies were established in the provinces and, by the latter date, the total French membership stood at 9500. In the 1890's several other associations were formed to further the cause of colonialism. Among these were the colonial group of the Chamber of Deputies, the Committee for French Africa, and the French Colonial Union, as well as the French Colonial Party.

With the emergence of the French Republicans as the dominant political force in 1879, colonial expansion began anew. Jules Ferry, a politician of strong convictions and a skillful parliamentarian, led this new imperialism for six years. No nation, he maintained, could be classified as a first, or even a second-rate power without overseas expansion. The Industrial Revolution was well under way in France and as Ferry saw it, the prosperity of the nation was dependent upon colonial outlets for manufactured goods and upon colonial sources for key raw materials.

Nevertheless, Ferry, who had been an important participant in the reform and major extension of French public education, stressed that colonial acquisition entailed serious responsibilities for the imperial power. Among these duties was that of education. Ferry maintained that the ultimate goal of colonialism was not conquest or exploitation, but the raising of the level of the indigenous population to that of the motherland. Thus, idealism and self-interest were allied in the colonial cause.

This particular concern was premature in most instances because France was primarily preoccupied with conquering rather than in developing colonies at the time. Sudan, Guinea, and the French Congo in Sub-Saharan Africa were conquered by 1895; the occupation of Dahomey was well under way and Lake Chad had been reached. By 1905, the Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Chad had been organized on a permanent basis. Twenty-five years after the founding of the Third Republic, the French Empire was second only to that of the British.

The Establishment of the Ministry of Colonies. The growing metropolitan interest in colonial affairs during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was more than matched by the growth of the Empire. The problems of administering the new colossus became formidable, particularly as the problems evolved from those of military conquest to others related to consolidation and development. With men such as Jules Ferry stressing the economic importance of the colonies, their control by the admirals of the Navy appeared to be anachronistic.

After various shifts both in placement in the governmental hierarchy and in degree of responsibility and power, the issue was finally brought to a head by the resignation of Under-Secretary Lebon in 1894 with the dramatic and publicized announcement that he found it impossible to govern the colonies under the existing organization. The Government took advantage of this incident to rush a law through the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate forming an independent Ministry of Colonies as of March 20, 1894.

The formation of the Ministry grew out of a belated recognition that France, having acquired a vast colonial empire, had to govern it. The new organization faced almost insurmountable obstacles. Frequent reorganizations of the Central Administration indicate a dissatisfaction with internal effectiveness. Parliament presented constant but expected problems, particularly when it came to expenditures. The intervention of other ministries in colonial affairs, occasionally without even consulting the Ministry of Colonies, led to serious conflicts. The development of new structures and functions within the colonies generated difficulties between the colonial and central administrations as well as among the various services of the individual colonies. The evolution of colonial education could but proceed at a slow and uneven pace under the circumstances.

The Development of a Colonial Financial Policy. In the long run, financial policy affected the development of education more than organizational dislocations. The division of revenue and expenditure between the metropolitan colonial budget and the budgets of the colonies had been of concern to every French government since the reoccupation of the colonies, but no definitive policy had crystallized from the overseas experiences prior to the Third Republic.

However, with the great expansion of the Empire, resultant problems were so acute as to demand a solution. The rising costs of military campaigns and internal development projects, as reflected in the annual colonial budgets passed upon by Parliament, became a cause of major concern to the legislators. This concern was not eased by the inability of the Central Administration to obtain regular and complete financial reports from the colonies. Periodically the Under-Secretary, and subsequently the Minister, was forced to admonish colonial governments for failure in this regard.

Financial irresponsibility within the colonies manifested itself in other forms as well. Deficit local budgets were being voted by the colonial general councils and approved by the governors. The Decree of November 20, 1882, which permitted the colonies to obtain unlimited advances from the metropolitan treasury, had led some colonies annually to borrow funds which they could not repay. Since a decision to limit the amount of any advance in 1890 failed to eliminate this abusive practice, the Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with the Under-Secretariat for the Colonies, ruled that as of January 1, 1893, all colonies would repay all such annual advances through compulsory monthly payments to the metropolitan treasury. The continuation of these fiscal problems resulted in the Ministry of Finance intervening directly in colonial financial matters through the placement of its own personnel in the Central Administration and in the colonies to watch over financial operations.

The trend to tighten metropolitan expenditures for the colonies took explicit form in the 1887 decrees establishing a corps of colonial administrators. According to the decree of December 12, 1887, the members of this corps working in a colony would be paid from the local colonial budget as of 1890. The Financial Law of April 28, 1893, extended the principle of partial colonial self-support by providing that the colonies would contribute to the locally incurred civil and military expenses as well as to the general expenses of the Metropole derived from colonial affairs.

Once the principle of self-sufficiency had been officially sanctioned and partially activated, the total application of this policy proved irresistible. Hence the Law of April 13, 1900, approving the metropolitan budget for the fiscal year, included Article 33 which began as follows: "All civil and internal security expenses are, in principle, the responsibility of the budgets of the colonies."[11] Military expenses incurred in any colony could also be charged against the local budget. In addition, the expenditures of the colonial budgets were divided into two categories, obligatory and optional. The Metropole established the obligatory expenses which pertained generally to the maintenance of the local administration and the repayment of the metropolitan debt. The local general councils retained the right to decide all local tax matters exclusive of customs. These local tax decisions were not applicable until approved in the form of a metropolitan decree by the French Council of State. Further, if the Council of State disapproved, the general councils were obliged to reopen their deliberations and present new proposals to the Metropole.

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[11] France, Bulletin Officiel du Ministère des Colonies, Budgets Locaux, No. 92, 1900, p. 314.

The Law of April 13, 1900, provided an opportunity for the colonies to apply for metropolitan loans. However, the metropolitan government was obliged to limit these grants to such an extent that, for many years to come, the colonies had to rely upon their own resources, not only for their operating expenses, but for the initiation and development of economic and social projects as well.

Hence, the development of education became largely dependent upon local tax revenue which, in the case of the relatively poor and underdeveloped colonies of Sub-Saharan Africa, remained quite meager for years to come. In addition, the expenditures ruled as mandatory or obligatory by the Metropole had to be met prior to those for development programs. Then educational projects had to compete with other needs for priority in the local budget. What emerged was a vicious circular situation with socio-economic development dependent upon local revenue and local revenue dependent upon socio-economic development.

French Overseas Education as a Measure of National Defense. With the colonial expansion during the first decades of the Third Republic, the French became acutely aware of foreign competition in the struggle for power and grandeur. Contact with the British became particularly irritating along colonial frontiers in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the natives frequently appeared to favor the English rule and language. Such incidences did not shake the French assumption that their culture represented the apex of civilization and had, with their language, universal validity. However, it had become obvious that, unless the peoples of the world became exposed to the French language and culture, they would accept other linguistic and cultural forms. This would not only deprive foreigners of acquiring the highest form of language and culture, but it would increase the power of other nations at the expense of France. As stated by Eugène Étienne, the overseas extension of the French language and culture constituted "a measure of national defense."[12]

Dissatisfaction with official efforts to develop French overseas education as a means to spread the French language and culture prompted a few men, mostly educators, to form, in 1883, an organization known as the Alliance Francaise. By 1889, the organization had fifteen thousand members. Eventually it was absorbed by the State as an official agency. Today it functions under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and continues its worldwide activities based upon its original objective: the propagation of the French language in the colonies and in foreign territories.

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[12] From a letter published in Revue de l'Enseignement Colonial, No. 2, March-April 1904, p. 51.

Foncin, one of the founders, noted that although independent of the government, the Association could reinforce official activities in the colonies and act in other localities where the government could not. The Alliance supported both the government and mission schools in Sub-Saharan Africa and, in turn, the government encouraged the efforts of the organization to open schools in the interior.

Despite its cooperation with the metropolitan government and the fact that many members were officials, the Alliance often attempted to pique the government into greater efforts in the area of native education. For example, it did not hesitate to point out that in Senegal, the most developed of the Sub-Saharan colonies, educational opportunity was largely limited to the children of the French administrators and of a few assimilated natives. It complained that, although the General Council of Senegal maintained sixty boys' and forty girls' scholarships for study in metropolitan secondary schools and convents, these scholarships were distributed, for the most part, among the French children including those of the General Council members. The Alliance further noted how costly such scholarships were and how they profited a rich minority, but not the mass of the native population. Through goading the government and constructive action, the organization was determined to accelerate the progress of native education.

Organizational Actions Affecting Sub-Saharan Education. As the consolidation of French influence within the growing Empire became increasingly necessary, the development of formal education as a means to this end grew in urgency. As already noted, when the government failed to respond energetically to this situation, prominent individuals took up the challenge through unofficial channels by the establishment of the Alliance Francaise. For many years the government was content to entrust the responsibility for colonial educational development to a bureau within the Central Administration staffed with two or three officials with clerical assistance. Because of the growing complexity of educational problems, during the summer of 1893, an attempt to supervise and control the development of colonial education led to the creation of an Office of General Inspection of Public Instruction in the Colonies. Two years later the Office was suppressed on the grounds that the advantages procured from the Service were outweighed by the heavy costs its function placed on the colonial budgets.

A second metropolitan body, organized in 1894, was the Superior Committee for Public Instruction of the Colonies. Its function was to advise the Minister on all questions related to colonial education including the curriculum, methodology, organization, and personnel. In addition to its permanent membership, which included Pierre Foncin as Vice-Chairman, the Committee had a temporary membership composed of French educators in France on leave from their positions in the colonies. A year later the body was enlarged to include officials concerned with political, commercial, and agricultural affairs.

On June 16, 1899, the Ministry of Colonies issued an important decree which established, for the first time, the means for French elementary and vocational teachers to instruct in the colonies without losing their metropolitan status. Although temporarily attached to the Ministry of Colonies while overseas, they were guaranteed their regular seniority and positions upon return to the Metropole. Decrees in 1902 extended the same conditions and rights to all school administrators and secondary teachers. These decrees made feasible the creation of public education systems in the colonies.

The Status of French Sub-Saharan Education, 1870-1900. A variety of official and unofficial sources concur in their general accounts of educational developments in the Sub-Saharan French territories prior to the turn of the century. Development proceeded at an extremely uneven and occasionally retrogressive rate. Within serious financial and personnel limitations, the governors or their equivalents were relatively free to encourage or discourage educational programs. What one accomplished, his replacement might destroy, deliberately, or, more often, through neglect. Where successful lay systems were developed by energetic governors, such as Gallieni and de Trentinian in Sudan and Binger on the Ivory Coast, they generally floundered under successors with less interest and zeal. Aside from the missionaries, the teaching personnel varied from a few French professionals sent by the *Alliance Francaise* to custom officials, soldiers, native clerks, and interpreters. Teaching often was a part-time, off-duty job for extra pay. Frequently school supervisors were non-professional administrators, custom officials and army officers. Financial and material support varied according to the region. In the hinterlands, populated by the Moslems, the support largely came from the Alliance and local budgets as well as from the Ministry of War (Army). Schools along the coasts were usually conducted by Catholic Orders subsidized through the local budgets, by the Alliance and the metropolitan government.[13]

Obviously, the colonies had outgrown the organizational structures designed for their administration, both in the Metropole and in the field. Hence, the establishment of the Ministry of Colonies in 1894 was almost immediately followed by the formation in 1895 of a federal government to coordinate the development of West Africa. However, it was not until 1902 that the supremacy of the government-general was clearly defined. It is not surprising, therefore, that the comprehensive plan for French West African education was formulated and inaugurated in 1903.

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[13] For a synopsis of the situation in specific colonies, the reader is directed to pp. 77-82 of the original dissertation.

The Major Reform of Colonial Education. The struggle between the conservative and liberal political forces within the Third Republic concluded in 1879 when the former lost both the Senate and the Presidency after losing the Chamber of Deputies in 1877. The liberals proceeded to establish a more universal and democratic system of education. For example, a law of June 16, 1881, stipulated that public primary education should be free while that of March 28, 1882, instituted compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and thirteen. Other laws were passed to establish public normal schools. A law of October 30, 1886, prescribed that teaching positions at all levels in the public schools should be confined to lay personnel. The reaction of the Church, which provided clergy as teachers for the public schools and considered education its prerogative, forced the Republicans into a more extreme anti-clerical position. The conviction of Captain Dreyfus in 1894 and the ensuing crisis, which found the clergy as a group on the losing, conservative side, served to reinforce the anti-clerical attitude culminating in the Parliamentary measure separating Church and State in 1905.

During this same period from about 1880 to 1900, certain leaders interested in colonial affairs were growing increasingly concerned with educational activities of the Church abroad. These men voiced pragmatic arguments for the curtailment of government support of the overseas missionaries.

Many of those most critical of educational efforts of the Church abroad were members of the Alliance Francaise, but this organization, being committed to an effort which included religious groups, could not serve as the vehicle for the active expression of such criticism. Hence, on June 8, 1902, the constitutional general assembly of a new organization met for the first time. The new body was named the Mission Laique Francaise and within seventeen months of its initial meeting, the membership had grown to three thousand. Its first president was Pierre Foncin, who was president of the Alliance Francaise at the same time. The number of powerful political personalities joining the movement, while too great for individual citation, indicate the popularity and strength of the philosophy and purpose behind it. The stated objective was the propagation of secular French education in the colonies and in foreign nations. To implement this goal, the Mission took the following actions: (1) the presentation of qualified teacher candidates for positions in primary education to the governors of the colonies and French representatives in foreign nations; (2) the establishment of secular schools under the direct control of the Mission in the colonies and in foreign nations; (3) the creation of a normal school dedicated to the preparation of teachers for overseas posts.

The advent and activities of the Alliance Francaise and the Mission Laique Francaise, vehicles of an aggressive, nationalistic elite of educators, intellectuals, and politicians, contributed to an explicit formulation of national purpose in terms of overseas education.

Both of these organizations had a common objective: the worldwide propagation of French culture by overseas education through official and private channels. The Alliance represented a united French attack on the problem, while the Mission Laique advocated a secularized and official approach to it.

The pressures upon the metropolitan government culminated on January 22, 1903, when the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution calling upon the Minister of Colonies to secularize the schools in all the colonies. Before the year was out, comprehensive plans to this effect were officially enacted in both French West Africa and Madagascar.

In response to the resolution, the plan for West Africa was worked out by the Minister of Colonies and the Governor-General in the fall of 1903.

The Organization of West African Public Education, 1903.[14] The new system, as detailed in two ordinances dated November 24, 1903, and published four days later,[15] included four levels of education divided into one track for the Africans and another for the French and selected assimilated Africans and mulattoes. This latter track conducted by French personnel followed a metropolitan course of study. Native schools in Moslem areas were to include instruction in Arabic. The system consisted of the primary, the vocational, the first-cycle secondary and commercial, and the normal school levels.

At the primary level, the schools were of three types: village, regional, and urban. The village schools, to be established wherever sufficient children were concentrated, would have Africans as teachers except in the schools large enough to warrant a Frenchman as a teaching principal or full-time principal. The curricular emphasis was upon oral French followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the language instruction including terminology centering on agriculture.

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[14] This system is presented here as a manifestation of metropolitan policy and as a basic, continuing model of public education in French Sub-Saharan Africa.

[15] Senegal, Journal Officiel du Sénégal et Dependances, No. 152, 48th Year, November 28, 1903, pp. 678-682.

The regional schools, to be located at district administrative centers and other important towns, were to have a broader curriculum with an emphasis upon a more formal study of French. Recent French history, particularly as it related to West Africa, was to be taught as well as an introduction to the physical and natural sciences. These latter subjects were to include information about local agriculture and industries. A special vocational course was to be attached to those schools where the existence of a local workshop made this feasible. These schools were to have French principals assisted by French or African teachers according to the situation. In addition to pupils from the immediate locality, the best pupils from the rural village schools could be sent to the regional school for further training.

The third type of primary school is described below:

> Article 12: Schools opened or to be opened in all towns with a sufficient European or assimilated element to justify their establishment will receive the name of "urban schools."
> In principle, the personnel of these schools are to be exclusively European. The course of study is to be that of the primary schools of the Metropole although certain modifications may be permitted to meet local needs.[16]

No annual promotions were to be effected in these metropolitan-type schools without the approval of both the principal and the teachers after a review of the grades received by each pupil throughout the year. If a pupil failed to be promoted upon a second attempt, he could be dropped from school. A school-leaving examination with a certificate analogous to that of the Metropole was to be established. For those graduates receiving the certificate, further study was available in a special course within the school.

Vocational education was to be provided in two types of schools, although as the ordinance reveals, the first type of school was, in fact, a course to be initiated by each colony wherever existing workshops made it feasible.

> These elementary vocational schools, in any case, are not to be organized as distinct institutions; they are to constitute simply a special section of the regional school. . . .[17]

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 678.

[17] *Ibid.*

A Higher Vocational School, the Pinet-Laprade School at Dakar, was to serve all of the colonies of West Africa. Its objective was to produce skilled craftsmen in wood, metal, and stone work.

First-cycle secondary and commercial education, given at the Faidherbe School at Saint-Louis, was to be organized into a common general education track followed by three specialized tracks. A commercial track and an administrative track to prepare native students for employment in the Public Works, Customs, Postal, and Secretariat-General Services of the colonies were to be supplemented by a track of lower secondary studies to prepare French students for the upper grades of the metropolitan secondary schools. In order to gain admittance to this latter track, the students had to take a special examination after their first year at the Faidherbe School before a committee of teachers headed by the Chief of Education for West Africa. The curriculum of this track was to consist of Latin, Greek, history, and geography, similar to the first cycle of the metropolitan secondary schools. The school personnel was to include two teachers with degrees in literature, one of whom was to be the principal, two foreign language teachers, two science teachers, and one teacher for commercial subjects.

The normal school at Saint-Louis had responsibility for preparing West African native elementary school teachers for the training of interpreters, Moslem magistrates, and chiefs. An entrance examination was required for all candidates except the sons of chiefs. A common course of study was to be followed by special professional education. The teacher-training program was to be similar to that of the Metropole except for local modifications. After student-teaching, in the schools of Saint-Louis whenever possible, the teacher-candidates were to serve as assistant teachers in the regional schools for one year prior to being assigned to a village school.

The ordinance established a parallel system for girls, although its development remained more a matter of local option. Special provisions for the education of French and selected assimilated girls were similar to those arranged for the boys.

A Major Policy Statement for the Congo, 1906. If the situation in West Africa appeared to be satisfactory, that in the Congo was not. Abuse of the natives by both the concessionaire companies and government officials became so extreme and notorious that a national scandal resulted.

However, despite a policy of reform with lengthy instructions to the Commissioner-General outlined by Minister of Colonies Clémentel on February 11, 1906, the poverty of the territory and the principle of locally financed internal development combined to insure the slow development of education in the region. Despite the secularization of education in the Metropole, in French West Africa, and a series of paper ordinances to that effect in French Equatorial Africa, the lack of funds and personnel left the initiative in formal education to the missionaries in the latter colony. While the emphasis, as expressed in the ordinances of 1911, was upon primary and vocational education, the stagnation of the colony resulted in extremely small enrollment figures for many decades.

The Opposition to Native Education. Although the liberals, the intellectuals, and the educators favored native education with an evangelistic spirit, they were not unopposed. The opposition, while rather inarticulate, was real and effective. Indeed, there existed little need for eloquence, for the opposition operated from positions of importance at the colonial level. In 1904, the Chief of the Education Service in Senegal, Risson, blamed the long indifference of the local administration and the lack of concern of the great commercial interests for the stagnation of native education.[18] Other authors agree that the principle of native education was generally favored in the Metropole, but came in for sharp criticism at the colonial level.

As the flow of teachers to West Africa began through the efforts of the Alliance, and the Mission Laique, and subsequently, of the Government, feedback from these educators brought to light many conditions in the field which had previously found space only in confidential official reports or which had gone unnoticed outside of a very small circle of interested parties. The lack of funds, equipment, and adequate school plants obviously drew comments. The organization and competence of the colonial civil administration came under sharp criticism, for France was in the throes of organizing Sub-Saharan Africa in the decades immediately preceding and following the turn of the century. The new overseas educators often found themselves in a conflict of philosophy and interests with the local administrators.

Pre-War Concern for Colonial Education. During the first decade of the twentieth century, interest and activities in colonial education resulted in the production of a great volume of information on the subject. In addition to a mass of unofficial reports from the field carried in professional journals, the advent of metropolitan colonial education, that is, education in France to prepare Frenchmen for service overseas in areas such as administration, education, and tropical agriculture, generated numerous pertinent commentaries.

From the many criticisms of French overseas education, there emerged two consistent suggestions for the improvement of the service. One was the need to establish a special agency for colonial education within the Ministry of Colonies headed by a high-ranking French educator, while the second related proposal consisted of the establishment of a similar structure in each of the colonies. Educational development was pictured as being at the mercy and whims of the governors and district officers in the colonies and without adequate professional leadership derived from the Metropole.

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[18] M. Risson, "La Reforme de l'Enseignement au Sénégal," Revue de l'Enseignement Colonial, No. 5, September-November, 1904, p. 131.

In 1907, Minister Leygues, in a move to meet such criticism, established a permanent secretariat for the Superior Consultative Committee for Public Instruction in the Colonies. According to a Parliamentary report, the Committee was responsible for the examination of all questions relating to colonial education. The permanent secretariat, to be chaired by the Vice-President of the Committee, was placed under the direct authority of the Secretary-General of the Ministry. It was charged with the study, advisement, and follow-up of some ten specific activities.

The effectiveness of this type of system was subjected to serious criticism because of the problem of convening the various Committee members who had other primary responsibilities. By 1914 the situation of colonial education caused Deputy Candace to introduce a bill for its improvement in Parliament.

In a review of the Central Administration of the Ministry, Candace concluded that educational affairs received inadequate treatment because the responsibility for resolving the problems fell upon a variety of administrative sections with other primary interests. The proposals contained in Candace's bill included the creation of a special education service within the Central Administration headed by an Inspector-General of Public Instruction and the automatic application of metropolitan educational personnel laws and school equipment regulations to the colonies. It also would have rendered as compulsory expenditures of the local colonial budgets, the costs of educational development as prescribed by the Metropole. The drastic nature of these provisions, particularly the latter two, caused the bill to be shelved.

Educational developments in French Sub-Saharan Africa were not to receive a fresh impetus until near the conclusion of the First World War. At least an extensive framework for public education had been developed for West Africa based upon the cumulative experiences of almost a century. If the problems and obstacles blocking the complete and smooth functioning of the structure remained unresolved, few people were seriously concerned because educational development was viewed as a long-term project.

The Impact of the First World War. The important part played by the colonies in the First World War stirred the imagination of the whole of France. The stay-at-home Frenchman had concrete evidence of the existence of the Empire for the first time in the form of masses of colonial troops. The spectacular evidence of the viability of the Empire shifted the balance of public opinion and made a more vigorous pursuit of colonial affairs possible.

Henry Simon, Minister of Colonies, indicated that the pre-war accomplishments in the colonies marked only the beginnings of a huge and necessary undertaking. Included in this new effort as outlined by Simon was to be the rapid expansion of elementary education until enrollment reached a normal figure, and the development of secondary and higher education. Noting that the colonial governments had generally understood the importance of vocational and technical education, in certain cases more so than the Metropole, the Minister nevertheless stressed the need to greatly extend these efforts until the indigenous populations not only could provide their own skilled labor but also their own foremen and even their own engineers. Inseparable from this task of native education was that of scientific research and preparation of overseas specialists conducted in the Metropole.

The first step to implement this policy was the inevitable reorganization of the Superior Consultative Committee of Public Instruction for the Colonies. This committee with a larger membership of distinguished authorities, with a variety of skills, would by its composition alone indicate to the colonial populations France's wholehearted and definite intention to provide them with the instruments of prosperity, according to Simon. The committee would contain three sub-committees of seven to fifteen members dealing with the affairs of personnel, administration and technique.

The Making of Selected Africans into Complete Frenchmen. Simon did not wait long before activating his policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. He stated that secondary education, which should be reserved for a veritable elite, would be structured in the metropolitan tradition, beginning with primary classes and terminating with a literary or scientific emphasis.

Actually the ministerial decree effecting the institution of secondary education ordered the establishment of vocational and teacher-training courses as well as a complete traditional metropolitan track from kindergarten through the terminal high school year. The courses of study and regulations for the upper elementary, secondary and teacher-training courses were to be the same as their counterparts in the Metropole except for minor modifications. The administrative staff was to be organized by the Minister of Colonies, but all expenses fell as the responsibility of Senegal. Upper elementary and secondary teachers were to have metropolitan teaching certificates.

Sarraut and the Development of Native Education. In the fall of 1920, Albert Sarraut, newly appointed Minister of Colonies, proceeded to revitalize colonial educational activities. First, he organized a special section for education within the Ministry of Colonies, an adjunct which various critics of education in the colonies had demanded for decades. The new organ was called the Inspection-Counsel of Public Instruction and was headed by the Inspector-Counselor. Shortly thereafter, Sarraut defined both the national policy for colonial education and the role of each metropolitan and colonial participant in its implementation.

In a statement to all the colonial governors, Sarraut's opening sentence left no doubt as to his intentions:

> The moment has arrived for a new effort, both powerful and methodical, in the development of education in our colonial domain.
>
> My eminent predecessor, Mr. Henri Simon, posed the principle that the basis of native policy lies in education, and that the economic development of our overseas possessions first demands the development of the individual through education.[19]

The Minister noted that France was under a moral obligation to carry on this work with persistence in gratitude for the war service of the colonies and as a natural duty imposed upon an imperial power, particularly since the Treaty of Versailles had extended the French colonial domain. After concluding his moral appeal, Sarraut turned to the material advantages to be had by the implementation of his policy:

> But the fundamental duty to educate our subjects and our indigenous proteges is in harmony with our economic, administrative, military, and political interests.[20]

Sarraut informed the governors that they should see to it that education was adapted to local needs and the mentalities of the local races. He noted past experience had demonstrated that the uniform application of identical courses of studies and methods was a serious error.

While granting the governors initiative in the organization and execution of local education and encouraging them to act, the Minister reminded them that he had a responsibility to direct this task.

First, he explained, there would exist a permanent supervision of local step-by-step efforts leading to the encouragement of progress and to quick reaction in the case of negligence and error. Next, there would be a counseling service on the technical nature of projects which the governors were encouraged to submit to Sarraut whenever they felt the need to consult the source of science and of modern pedagogy which the Metropole represented. Finally, there would be assistance in the matter of personnel and material procurement.

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[19] France, B.O.M.C., Instruction Publique, Circular of October 20, 1920, 1921, p. 5.

[20] Ibid.

The Office of the Inspector-Counselor was to act as a liaison between the Ministry and other metropolitan agencies to assure the cooperation of the various ministries in this third area. Sarraut emphasized the priority of the Office was that of recruiting and training personnel required by the governors. Sarraut stressed that the selection of teachers could not remain based upon chance or the exigencies of the moment. He desired a carefully organized recruitment system in order to obtain teachers of the highest quality and preparation. In order to secure and retain quality personnel, Sarraut observed that the career of the colonial educator had to be made more attractive. Both the problems of recruitment and teacher morale had seriously handicapped the development and quality of overseas education.

The Minister did not leave the application of his enunciated principles entirely to the discretion of the governors. He ordered them to submit to him with the least delay and, at the latest, within five months, a comprehensive report of the actual status of education in their colonies along with a plan for future action. These plans were to include the progressive steps for their implementation and the financial allotments to be made in future budgets for their realization.

In a complementary action, the Ministry instigated a campaign of teacher recruitment. Each colony was to submit its needs for personnel quarterly and the Minister would recruit accordingly. The Ministry published a quarterly balance sheet showing the supply and demand situation for all colonies. By 1923 the situation had become sufficiently stabilized to change the recruitment system from a quarterly to an annual basis.

The Reorganization of West African Education (1924). In 1924 the Governor-General of West Africa was ready to adjust the Federation's system of education to implement the principles of native education as defined by Sarraut. Effected on May 1, 1924, the reorganization represented a moderate revision of the basic 1903 plan which had already been slightly modified by previous ordinances in 1912 and 1918. It put further emphasis upon the expansion of spoken French for the masses, the incorporation of more practical knowledge in the curriculum, notably in the fields of hygiene and agriculture, and in the preparation of native civil servants.

The village schools were responsible for the mass diffusion of spoken French which was to be taught in a minimum time of three to four years in order to produce a maximum number of French-speaking natives. The elementary and regional schools, providing five to eight years of study, had as a goal the more formal and complete instruction in French. In addition, native education was to stress personal hygiene for the first three years of school and practical agriculture at the intermediate elementary level. Regional schools were to introduce the manual skills if shop facilities existed nearby. One vocational upper elementary school was to be established in each colony to train apprentices, and, subsequently, skilled craftsmen and foremen. Schools at the technical level were to produce increased numbers of elementary teachers, medical assistants, and marine mechanics. Metropolitan education through the secondary level for the French and the assimilated elite was operational but not publicized.

Educational Planning in Equatorial Africa. Sarraut's demand for a long-term educational plan from every colony resulted in a comprehensive attempt to organize public education in French Equatorial Africa. The plan, similar to but less ambitious than that of West Africa, emphasized mass primary education to teach a rudimentary French and an introduction to the manual trades and agricultural techniques. An upper elementary, or higher primary school, opened at Brazzaville in 1927, but was closed soon after, until 1935. Although much more detailed than those of Clémentel of 1906, the plans of 1925 remained largely on paper, as had a colonial level plan of 1911. The agricultural apprenticeship center (1901) and the normal-administrative-commercial school (1907) at Libreville and the small vocational school (1903) at Brazzaville were the Federation's only public education institutions beyond the lower primary schools.

The Adaptation of French Education to Colonial Needs. Referred to by both official and unofficial sources from the inception of French Sub-Saharan education to the present day, the problem of adaptation received particular attention during the first two decades following the First World War through the colonial economic development campaign, the comprehensive planning for colonial education, and the worldwide economic depression.

The question of the adaptation of education for colonial needs and realities was the subject of an intercolonial conference held in Paris in 1932. The testimony of educators from many of the French colonies provided evidence of a lack of adaptation. In the "old" colonies, the metropolitan system had been copied intentionally, but in the "new" colonies, including Sub-Saharan Africa, national and local policy directives were filled with repetitive phrases about adaptation.

Although national policy, faithfully repeated on paper at the colonial level in Sub-Saharan Africa, gave priority to providing the masses with a rudimentary French, personal hygienic practices, and improved vocational skills through native education, the system, in fact, was failing to implement the very objectives for which it was founded. The village school, in order to reach more children, released its pupils too soon; returning to the bush, they forgot what little French they had acquired. The native teachers lectured abstractly upon the principles of hygiene to pupils covered with filth and taught obscure French poetry to young bush children without a command of French, according to reports. The fact that virtually all of the textbooks were imported from the Metropole or French Algeria further worked against adaptation.

The metropolitan teachers also presented a problem. They arrived without knowledge of Africa or native education. A special workshop organized to prepare these arrivals for their new teaching work had been dropped shortly after its inception because of a shortage of funds. According to Davesne, the Inspector of Primary Education for the Federation, many of these teachers also found it difficult or impossible to supervise properly the native teachers serving under them. Most of the native teachers were condemned by Davesne as not knowing their job. They taught without planning or evaluation. What they taught was described as frequently an automatic repetition of metropolitan subject matter learned by the native teachers while preparing to pass an examination. And the recipients were children without a command of French or any insight into the Western conceptual world. These indigenous teachers were not directly responsible, according to the Inspector; the normal school at Gorée prepared the natives in the image of the Metropole. Davesne flatly condemned the teacher education program in his conference report.

The Depression and the Reform of Native Education. The Inspector's severe criticism of native education in Sub-Saharan Africa reflected a national mood as, of course, did the conference topic of adaptation. In France itself, efforts were being made to correlate education with economic needs through the development of vocational-technical education. The Ministry of Colonies was preoccupied with the same question and, therefore, it is not surprising to discover a reflection of this concern at the colonial level.

A reappraisal of native education in terms of the Act of 1924 was in progress. The rural primary schools became known as the rural farm or popular schools, with attempts being made to include a viable program of semi-vocational training based upon local occupations. Usually this program amounted to an introduction to agriculture and animal husbandry. After a tour of these schools in 1935, Governor Brévié observed that they were becoming centers of community life and orienting the people to a new, simple, and practical culture.

To produce the type of primary teacher needed for these practical rural schools, plans called for the formation of three rural normal schools strategically located in the interior of the Federation. A vocational school, modeled on the Craftsmen's Institute at Bamako, was to be developed within each colony as well. A higher technical school for the Federation would serve as the capstone to this track. Unfortunately, the depression seriously cut into the implementation of such plans. In 1932 the Ministers of Finance and Colonies agreed upon the need for a particularly prudent financial management in the colonies and for an effective preventative control of all local supplementary expenditures. In 1934, noting the Metropole had found it necessary to extend regular financial assistance to the colonies because of the depression, Minister of Colonies Laval issued a decree aimed at encouraging the maintenance of balanced budgets in the colonies. In a report to the President, Laval mentioned the colonies had, some time ago, suspended all recruitment of personnel and reduced salaries as well as area hardship allowances in a determined effort to reduce expenditures.

The depression, however, spurred the Blum Government to organize a French Imperial Conference in 1934-35 which included a broad cross-section of private and public interests. The purpose was to establish an integrated imperial economy somewhat similar to Sarraut's proposals and it resulted in the creation of a Colonial Development Fund to expend fifteen billion francs over a period of fifteen years. The first years were to be devoted to the development of complementary economies within the colonies based primarily on the production of raw materials needed in France, such as cotton and edible oils. The funds were to be invested in large-scale cultivation projects such as the Niger Bend project and in the improvement of communications to permit the flow of production to the Metropole. Obviously, such an event had repercussions in the field of colonial education.

In 1935 the French government established an interministerial committee to survey the results of the brief metropolitan experience in vocational-technical education in order to suggest applications in the colonies. This inquiry was a direct result of the recommendations of colonial chambers of commerce attending the metropolitan conference.

Minister of Colonies Rollin suggested an educational scheme designed to produce a vocationally oriented mass and an elite of technicians. According to this plan, vocational education would be integrated into the primary curriculum; certain colonies, Rollin observed, had already begun such an integration. In order to render the program effective, the Ministry would undertake the special training in vocational subjects of primary teachers destined for the colonies. Upon completion of the training, a special diploma would be awarded to the teachers. The governors were requested to inform the Ministry of their particular vocational needs so that this program could be developed.

The response of the Government-General of Equatorial French Africa to the metropolitan demand for a reorientation of native education was somewhat similar to that of French West Africa. Two governors-general of the pre-World War II decade attempted to revitalize and reorganize the educational system. The first, Governor-General Antonetti, condemned the village school teachers as extremely incompetent and noted the regional and urban schools were too examination-conscious to undertake proper vocational education. However, it remained for Governor-General Reste to take drastic steps. In January of 1937, he removed the control of education from the Directorate of Political Affairs and established, for the first time in Equatorial Africa, a genuine education administration or inspectorate. More village schools were to be opened with an emphasis upon vocational education through the addition of farm plots and manual training. This represented a copy of the West African rural farm schools inaugurated a few years previously. A secondary course was opened in Brazzaville and admission to West African secondary schools was made possible, although this arrangement had little practical effect because of the lack of qualified pupils in the territory.

The Actions of the Vichy Government. Although after the fall of France in 1940, the Vichy Government commenced a series of measures to extend its control over colonial education and to ensure the penetration of its conservative philosophy into the schools, because of its short life, the overseas educational influence of the regime was limited. Even prior to the voluntary abdication of the last Parliament of the Third Republic in July 1940, Major-General de Gaulle had announced from London the formation of a Free French regime. In August 1940, Chad, Cameroon, Ubangi-Shari and the Middle Congo joined his cause.

Summary. The first three decades of the Third Republic were marked by the political and economic consolidation of the Republic, the emergence of metropolitan free compulsory elementary education, and the sudden expansion of the Empire. This latter event, generally described as the accomplishment of a few ardent imperialists rather than as the result of public demand, left the Metropole with extensive overseas possessions, but with neither the popular desire nor the organization to develop them.

A small but brilliant group of ardent imperialists inaugurated national campaigns to popularize the cause of colonial possession based both upon altruistic and self-interest arguments. The French were told it was their duty to export their universally valuable culture and that the maintenance of France as a first-rate power required an imperial status. Through persuasion based upon idealism, economics, and national prestige, an expanding hard-core support was garnered for the cause. Thus, the problems of colonial development received increasing attention and from the welter of ensuing conferences, debates, and opinions arose certain firm colonial policies. Among these was the crucial principle of financing overseas socio-economic development through locally produced revenue. Metropolitan loans were to be available for this process, but they were based upon the estimated local capacity to repay such loans.

In any case, because of the multiple needs of the colonies, native education received only sporadic development until the pressures of societies such as the Alliance Francaise and the Mission Laique publicized the situation and marshalled public opinion. Of course, the struggle between the Church and the State over the control of education precipitated the planning of comprehensive public systems of education in the colonies. In general, these systems were only activated in colonies where considerable indigenous cultural resistance to missionary education was prevalent. The high costs, manpower requirements, and complex personnel problems of the public systems made such a priority necessary. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, French West Africa had the two prerequisites for the immediate institution of public education: Moslem resistance to Christian infiltration and sufficient local revenue for its support. In Equatorial Africa, both of these factors were lacking for the most part, and hence public education remained largely on paper for many years.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, national policy dictated the organization of a two-track system, a metropolitan track for the French and the assimilated Africans and an adapted practical track for the masses. The objectives were to create a completely assimilated elite and a Franco-African culture for the masses. Through time, the popular culture was to shift increasingly to a French orientation without losing entirely its African flavor.

Immediately after the First World War, native education was viewed as a crucial factor in colonial economic development largely through the leadership of Albert Sarraut. His attention to colonial education brought renewed attempts to expand the public school system and increasingly to adapt it to environmental and economic needs. The relative failure of this adaptation and of the mass education movement in general was brought to light during the worldwide economic depression. As a result, more drastic attempts to adapt French education were inaugurated in Sub-Saharan Africa during the Thirties and were carried on until the conclusion of the Second World War.

From the quantitative standpoint, total school enrollment figures[21] jumped considerably, particularly in the Twenties and Thirties in West

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[21] France, M.F.O.M., Annuaire Statistique de l'Union Francaise d'Outre-Mer, 1939-1949 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), pp. 222-227. All figures were taken from this source except the one for 1870.

Africa and in the Thirties and early Forties in Equatorial Africa. However, the percentage of the school-age population in school remained very low throughout the period. In West Africa, school attendance had risen from about 1,000 in 1870 to 77,000 in 1938 and reached about 107,000 in 1944. But the statistics indicate that, in 1938, a vast majority of the pupils received a rudimentary primary education and a mere 300 students were enrolled in vocational and technical courses or schools. Only 1,833 students were in normal school courses, normal schools, and high schools. In Equatorial Africa during the 1938-39 academic year, almost 9,500 pupils were listed as attending public schools and slightly under 11,700 were in private institutions. Of the public school pupils, it should be noted that only 90 were in secondary education and 43 in vocational-technical schools. The mandated territories, Togo and Cameroon, had separate systems with enrollments in public and private institutions given as 3,000 and 6,000 for Togo and 10,600 and 96,400 for Cameroon. In this latter case, only 3,950 of the 96,400 private school pupils were in recognized institutions.

From the qualitative standpoint, the statistics are deceiving. Most of the pupils received a brief primary education given by poorly educated and trained African monitors. Both French and African commentaries rate this type of education as very poor. At the other extreme, many of the small number of high school children were French.

Nevertheless, the enduring characteristics of native education had been established in French Sub-Saharan Africa; the fundamental policy and the basic form or organization had crystallized. In West Africa, at least, the production of an assimilated elite and of an indigenous auxiliary administrative corps was viable. Popular education for the masses and vocational-technical education, the prime objectives continually stressed after World War I, remained largely on paper and of doubtful success where in operation. The metropolitan policy remained to be fulfilled.

THE MODERN PERIOD: 1944-1962. Before the conclusion of the Second World War, General de Gaulle opened a conference of high Free French officials in Brazzaville (1944) to formulate recommendations for a new colonial policy for Sub-Saharan Africa to be presented to the legal government of metropolitan France, once it had been re-established in Paris. The preamble of the accepted recommendations emphatically stated that the colonies were to remain within the French Empire, and it was within this principle that all colonial policy was conceived until the fall of the Fourth Republic in 1958. The advent of the Fifth French Republic, marked by the return to power of General de Gaulle, resulted in the formation of the French Community and the ultimate independence of the Sub-Saharan territories in 1960.[22]

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[22] French Guinea voted for and received independence in 1958.

These political changes are identifiable by the change in the names of the Ministry primarily responsible for French relations with Sub-Saharan Africa. In 1946, the Ministry of Colonies was renamed the Ministry of Overseas France and, in 1961, this latter agency was replaced by the Ministry of Cooperation as far as Sub-Saharan Africa was concerned. Under the regime of the Ministry of Overseas France, the colonies, in turn, became known as territories.

As the term "Overseas France" implies, the former colonies were conceived as extensions of metropolitan France with certain political reservations which ensured the Metropole's control over affairs within the territories. During this period, the assimilated native elite began to play an important political role and they demanded equality for the Africans, particularly in terms of education.

As a result, the post-war period witnessed a rapid extension of secondary education throughout French Sub-Saharan Africa and the reform of primary education along metropolitan lines. With the coming of independence, the African leadership, believing that modernization and unification are largely dependent upon education, requested and received increased educational assistance. However, the high cost of extending a metropolitan-type school system throughout the poor countries of French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa has posed a dilemma yet to be solved.

The Restoration of France as a World Power. One of the chief concerns of the Free French regime under General de Gaulle was to restore France to the rank of a world power. This goal was viewed as dependent upon the unity of France and her overseas possessions.

Certainly the role of the colonies and colonial troops had been an impressive one in both the First and Second World Wars; thus, motivated by both gratitude and self-interest, the French government determined to further cement the ties between the Metropole and the colonies.

The Brazzaville Conference (January 30-February 8, 1944). Opened by General de Gaulle and chaired by the Commissioner of the Colonies, René Pleven, the Brazzaville Conference prepared recommendations for a new colonial policy in the realm of political, economic, and social development. In a keynote address, de Gaulle spoke of raising indigenous standards of life and preparing natives for eventual participation with the French in the management of local affairs.[23] However, neither de Gaulle nor the Conference membership, some forty-four colonial governors, high civil servants and delegates from the Provisional Consultative Assembly at Algiers, intended to espouse a policy leading to local autonomy.[24]

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[23] Stewart C. Easton, The Twilight of European Colonialism (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 336.

The recommendations included the establishment of a colonial or federal parliament which would guarantee "the infrangible political unity of the French world,"[25] increased indigenous role in local policy-making, increased development of the native populations through greater metropolitan technical assistance, modernization of administrative methods and extension of the powers of the colonial governors with concomitant over-all administrative decentralization of the empire, improved labor laws, public works programs, economic development, and extended educational opportunities.

Actually, the educational recommendations, consuming only three and one-half pages of the thirty-page conference report, amounted to a reaffirmation of previously enunciated principles. However, on this occasion, the principles emanated from a public conference of high-level officials rather than from a single official addressing a limited audience as in the past.

A point of disagreement centered upon the allocation of priority to primary or to secondary education. While reiterating the necessity for educating an elite, the delegates favored primary education by advocating the establishment of a school in every village containing a minimum of fifty school-age children. They also agreed that the education of boys and girls was of equal importance. French was approved as the language of instruction with "the use of locally spoken dialects absolutely forbidden, in the private as well as in the public schools."[26]

As a follow-up to the Conference, a meeting was held in July, 1944, at Dakar to detail further the resolutions adopted at Brazzaville. As a consequence, an ambitious educational plan for French West Africa was approved which called for the opening of 50,000 schools and the recruitment of a minimum of 50,000 teachers in order to provide primary education throughout the territory. In addition, the plan envisaged the establishment of 200 upper primary schools and 75 normal schools. All of the institutions were to be operational within twenty years and universal primary education was to be achieved within fifty years.[27]

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24. Georges Hardy, Histoire Sociale de La Colonisation Francaise (Paris: Larose, 1953), p. 235.

25. Ibid.

26. Jean de La Roche and Jean Gottmann, La Fédération Francaise (Montreal: Editions de L'Arbre, 1945), p. 546.

27. Ibid.

Major executive legislation affecting colonial education was enacted by the re-established Ministry of Colonies during the summer of 1945. On May 30, 1945, a decree was issued detailing an extensive scholarship system for colonial students to study in the Metropole or North Africa. An ordinance of August 4, 1945, provided all veterans, including those of the colonies, with five years of free education and a subsistence allowance according to need. These acts generated an awkward situation, for it was painfully apparent that the severely limited opportunity for secondary education in French Sub-Saharan Africa was incompatible with the enacted policy of the post-war period.

The Instructions of August, 1945. The urgency of the problem was reflected in the telegrams sent during the month of August, 1945, from the Ministry of Colonies to the governors-general of Equatorial Africa, West Africa, Madagascar, and to the Governor of Cameroon. In general, these messages requested specific information as to the number of native students in all secondary classes, including those eligible to commence the first and second cycles of secondary level education and those passing the colonial examination roughly equivalent to the baccalaureate. The minimum number of secondary level scholarships for indigenous students was stipulated for each colony or territory and certain governors were instructed to open additional freshman secondary classes. The number of native students passed on to second cycle secondary education was to be increased by means of special lessons in certain cases. Elsewhere, junior high schools were to be converted into complete secondary institutions.

Post-War Educational Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa. New ordinances, reflecting the policy of increased emphasis upon native primary education, appeared in the colonies shortly after the end of the war. The comprehensive ordinance, effected in West Africa on August 22, 1945, offers a case in point. Concerned with primary and upper primary schooling, the training of primary teachers, and adult education, it stressed the principle of accelerating the evolution of the native population. However, the expansion of the school system, it noted, was dependent upon the availability of teaching personnel.

To meet this problem, in addition to the regular normal schools and the normal sections attached to secondary schools, special normal courses to produce monitors were to be activated by the Governor-General. These special, sub-standard courses were to be dropped as soon as the normal school output could meet the demands for primary teachers.[28]

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[28] Unfortunately, this supply, as of 1962, had not caught up with the demand.

Primary school attendance was made compulsory for all children of native civil servants and military personnel. The local governors were to determine how this measure could be applied to the children of the native chiefs.

All primary schools were to have six years of courses, to be followed by a primary school-leaving examination and certificate. The regulations stipulated that the pupils had up to eight years to complete this program, allowing two extra years to repeat any of the six grade levels.

No doubt in anticipation of the influx of metropolitan technical assistance personnel, the ordinance provided for the establishment of primary schools with a metropolitan curriculum wherever the French school population justified it. This distinction between native and metropolitan education was condemned as discriminatory by the Africans and became a cause célèbre. However, the abolition of the rural farm schools, tacitly accomplished by the ordinance, constituted a victory for the African elite. According to a variety of French sources, the abandonment of this vocationally oriented primary program was equally welcomed by many French officials because of its ineffectiveness.

Sprinkled throughout the ordinance were such qualifying phrases as "in principle," "eventually," and "within the limits of the resources"; these appear to be tacit recognition of the enormous problems of eliminating the gap between principle and fact. While this gap itself was not new, the wide public dissemination of the principles of increased educational opportunity and the growing numerical and political strength of the African elite were new factors which made increased progress in the field of education imperative.

The Growing Political Role of the African Elite. During the post-war period, the Sub-Saharan African elite exerted themselves politically through several channels. African deputies were elected to the French Chamber and Senate and were often able to obtain concessions, despite a lack of numerical strength, by occupying a crucial position in the political balance between the Right and the Left. As they gained political experience through participation in the French Parliament and the Assembly of the French Union in France, and the Territorial and Grand Councils in Africa, their influence increased. Even though the Councils held only advisory power with the French governors remaining the local supreme authority with legislation enacted, as before, in France, the very existence of these elected Councils led to the organization of indigenous political parties in Sub-Saharan Africa with the Rassemblement democratique Africain (RDA) emerging as the dominant one. Not only did these developments provide needed political and legislative experience, but they enabled the Africans to break away from membership in metropolitan political parties. By the 1950's, Sub-Saharan Africans were wielding considerable influence in the metropolitan government in the roles of assistant ministers and secretaries of state.

The Loi-Cadre of 1956. The African expectations for the Africanization of the colonial political and administrative structures, based upon the liberal policy expressions made by the French near the close of the Second World War, were not liberally fulfilled in the decade from 1946 to 1956. However, in January, 1956, the new Socialist Premier, Guy Mollet, announced his support of an overseas reform program and appointed two West Africans to his Cabinet. Shortly thereafter, the Minister of Overseas France, Gaston Defferre, introduced the famous Loi-Cadre (enabling act) to the Parliament. This bill consisted of general principles which would serve as guidelines for executive decrees embodying specific reforms in the governmental structure of the Overseas Territories, those colonies administered by the Ministry of Overseas France. These executive decrees were to be published in the Official Journal and if the Parliament took no action to modify or annul them within three months of their publication date, they would become law. Both the Assembly and the Senate passed the bill.

The Loi-Cadre of 1956 may be regarded as a real turning point in French colonial policy. It soon led to a major revision of the political structure of French Black Africa. The Federations of French West and Equatorial Africa were dissolved and were designated Groups of Territories to symbolize the fact that the territories had become semi-responsible, separate governments with the former advisory Territorial Councils becoming Territorial Assemblies with legislative powers and elected under universal adult suffrage. The French governors were retitled as heads of territories and lost much of their power to an Executive Council chosen by each Territorial Assembly.

Education and Politics. During the post-war period, education became increasingly important as a political symbol. Not only was it necessary for upward political and social mobility, but it represented an entity which could be relatively easily compared with the system in France. Equality had concrete meaning in terms of educational opportunity and a metropolitan, rather than an adapted, curriculum.

The political significance of education became evident immediately after the war. Through the Constitution of 1946 the natives of the overseas possessions obtained French citizenship, but under the Electoral Law of October 5, 1946, the voting requirements excluded the vast majority of the natives. This fact obviously pointed to the inadequacy of the educational system and the need for mass primary and adult education. On the other hand, Africanization of the colonial administration and the development of indigenous professional personnel required an expansion of secondary education.

The Plan for Modernization and Equipment. The development of education, however, was limited by the old principle of colonial financial self-sufficiency, which implied that all internal development depended upon local financing. Although some loans from the Metropole had been made for this purpose after the formation of the Federations of West and Equatorial Africa, it was recognized that they were insufficient to meet the needs existing after the Second World War.

On April 30, 1946, the French Parliament passed a law establishing a Plan for Modernization and Equipment for the Overseas Territories. The law stipulated that the Ministry of Overseas France (formerly the Ministry of Colonies) would establish plans for overseas economic and social development to cover a ten-year period and designed to "transform the territories into modern countries."[29] In addition, Article 5[30] of the Law established a special agency to approve and supervise the execution of the plans. Known as FIDES (Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement Economique et Social des Territoires d'Outre-Mer), the organization was headed by an executive committee chaired by the Minister of Overseas France; other members included a representative each from the Ministry of Finance and Secretary of State for the National Economy, the directors of the Commissariat of the Plan (a metropolitan agency) and the Central Bank for the Overseas Territories, the directors of the planning and economic affairs agencies of the Ministry of Overseas France, four legislators, and two technical experts chosen by the Ministries of Overseas France, National Economy, and Finance.

Controversy over the FIDES operations began almost immediately. The Africans maintained the program was dominated by the French-controlled executive committee which approved projects favoring French business interests rather than those contributing to the African welfare. On the other hand, the FIDES authorities intimated that the Territorial Assemblies consistently underestimated the costs of the projects the Africans favored.[31] Despite an enormous amount of criticism from both the French and the Africans, the very existence of the Overseas Plan and FIDES constituted a break with the traditionally parsimonious policies of the past. Even though the program was slow in getting underway and was progressively modified and limited, it definitely became a stimulant to French Sub-Saharan development.

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[29] France, B.O.M.F.O.M., *Administration Centrales des Colonies, Law of April 30, 1946*, p. 405. (B.O.M.F.O.M. refers to the Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Overseas France.)

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 406.

[31] Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *French West Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 254-255. The program is also analyzed in a second book by the same authors: *The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960). A critical analysis of the organization of FIDES and of the Plan from 1946 to 1953 by an anonymous African author appeared in the December 1956-January 1957 (pp. 47-56) and February-March 1957 (pp. 142-162) issues of *Presence Africaine*. Both official and unofficial French sources are too numerous to be mentioned here.

FIDES and Education. Under the original overseas ten-year plan of 1946, twenty-five per cent of FIDES allocation was assigned to social development projects and ten per cent of this amount was to be devoted to education. However, neither of these percentages was actually reached[32] and, by a decree of June 4, 1949, the ten-year planning concept was replaced by four-year planning periods. Nevertheless, through FIDES during the first four-year plan (1949-1953), substantial numbers of secondary-level school plants were constructed in French Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in West Africa.

Indeed, the rapid rise of secondary institutions placed a heavy strain upon the general or federal and local territorial budgets since the cost of maintenance and of staffing these schools was a federal or local responsibility. As these schools were generally boarding schools staffed by French teachers, these expenses were considerable. In addition, the costs of primary education, including school construction, were borne by the local territorial budgets with some assistance from the general or federal budgets. The subsidization of mission schools and of scholarships for study in the Metropole added to the financial problems of French Sub-Saharan territories. The average expenditure for education in the budgets of the colonies of French West Africa rose from 2.8% in 1930[33] to 17% by 1953.[34] The proportionate expenditures of the combined individual territories of French West Africa for education in 1952 as compared to those of the federal government and of the Metropole, through FIDES, for that same year are indicated below:[35]

Territories (combined)	=	3,505,000,000 francs C.F.A.*
Federal	=	205,500,000 francs C.F.A.
FIDES	=	725,000,000 francs C.F.A.

*excluding subsidization of mission schools

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32. Thompson and Adloff, French West Africa, p. 521. (Confirmed by a survey of official statistics.)

33. France, Ministère des Colonies, Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1931, p. 34.

34. France, M.F.O.M., L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1953, p. 228.

35. Ibid.

The second four-year plan (1954-1957) sanctioned by FIDES placed more of an emphasis upon construction at the primary school level. As a result of the post-war African demand for equality in education, the primary cycle had been raised to a full six-year course, necessitating considerable additional school construction at this level. Although the FIDES-type primary school was better built than those constructed locally of indigenous materials, they also cost more per unit. As a consequence, fewer FIDES primary schools could be built. Thus, the increase in the French Sub-Saharan school population during the first ten years of the FIDES (1946-1956) fell substantially below the rate of growth[36] required to meet the educational goals generalized at the Brazzaville Conference (January-February, 1944) and those specified for French West Africa at the Dakar Conference (July, 1944).[37] Nevertheless, the funds from FIDES were significant in the construction of post-primary facilities throughout French Black Africa, particularly within the Western Federation.

The Problems of Technical, Secondary and Higher Education. The post-war educational reforms in French Sub-Saharan Africa had two major goals: a quantitative expansion to provide for educational opportunity and a qualitative improvement to establish a parity between the systems of the colonies and of metropolitan France. Both goals were motivated by political necessity, derived in principle from the policy declarations of the French government and the Constitution of 1946 and forced by the demands of the African elite and their liberal supporters in the Metropole.[38]

At the primary level, courses were extended to six years and capped by a Certificat d'Études Primaire (Primary School-Leaving Certificate) "equivalent to the same certificate in the Metropole."[39] The nature of secondary education in French West Africa was described as follows in 1948:

> Secondary education is now aligned with that of the Metropole, not only in regard to the duration of the studies and the constitution of the curriculum, but in the realm of diplomas as

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[36] The school population for West Africa stood at 5.3% of the estimated school-age population in 1947 and 13.4% in 1956 according to official statistics.

[37] The plan for West Africa called for 50,000 primary schools, 200 upper primary schools, and 75 normal schools by 1964 and universal primary education by 1994-5.

[38] Thompson and Adloff, French West Africa, p. 522.

[39] Ibid.

well. These are granted (Brevets for the first cycle studies and the Baccalaureate for the second cycle studies) by juries organized by the University; they are rigorously equivalent to the diplomas granted in the Metropole and their value is recognized throughout the French Union.[40]

The development of all phases of education proceeded at a much slower pace in French Equatorial Africa. Considered the most backward of French colonial possessions prior to the Second World War, the Federation possessed only a small secondary course, at Brazzaville, primarily for the benefit of French youth. Through FIDES, eight secondary schools, including one complete lycée at Brazzaville, were fully operational by 1955 with a total enrollment of 1,315 African students.

However, over half of the secondary school places remained unfilled at this time because of the inability of the Africans to pass the secondary school entrance examinations. This fact led the Africans to demand both the reformation of primary education and the temporary easing of the entrance requirements to secondary education pending such a reformation. The French government refused this latter request, pointing out the discrepancy between this demand and the demand that local secondary education be identical with that in France. However, the French did abandon the rigid metropolitan age limitation for admission to secondary schooling. The Africans argued that it was unfair to expect the native child to assimilate the French language and the other educational requirement on the same timetable as the French child. It had long been claimed that the French used this device to limit the educational opportunities for the natives.

According to an official report,[41] vocational and technical education was equal to that of the Metropole in quality, organization, and diplomas. Nevertheless, none of the secondary level establishments was equal in reputation to those of the Metropole.[42] This fact and the desire of many students to pursue their studies at a higher level resulted in a substantial demand for scholarships to study in France. This trend led to financial and political problems.

Subsequently these problems led the French government to an acceleration of the original plan which called for the opening of a

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[40] France, M.F.O.M., loc. cit.

[41] France, M.F.O.M., Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1948, p. 62.

[42] A common charge, that the teachers as a group held degrees inferior to the comparable group in the Metropole, appears justified according to official statistics; e.g., see preceding reference, p. 64.

University Institute at Dakar in 1949 and its evolution into an Institute of Advanced Studies, complete with Schools of Medicine, Pharmacy, Law, Letters, and the Natural Sciences, by 1951. Thus, by a decree of April 6, 1950, the latter institution was established a year ahead of schedule. Subsequently, a decree of November 27, 1950 created the office of Rector to head both the Institute and public education within the West African Federation; this decree brought the metropolitan administrative organization to Sub-Saharan African education.

Enrollment at this seat of higher learning increased from 140 students in 1950-1951 to 1,612 in 1961-1962.[43] As of this latter date, the University of Dakar also had seven attached Institutes with an enrollment of 1,811 students.[44] However, these figures are deceiving in that almost one half of the student body in the late 1950's were French and, during the 1961-62 academic year, they accounted for almost a third of the students. During the latter year, only Senegal (587 students), Dahomey (227 students), Cameroon (54 students), and Togo (48 students) had substantial national representation at the University. For example, the countries of former French Equatorial Africa (Congo, Gabon, Republique Centrafricaine, and Tchad) had a combined total of only five students in attendance. Thus, although the University is under the jurisdiction of the French Ministry of National Education rather than that of Senegal, the balkanization of French Sub-Saharan Africa and the superior reputation of the metropolitan universities has frustrated the French plan to develop the institution into the University of Central Africa, serving all of French Black Africa.

UNESCO and Africanization. France's traditional use of cultural expansion as a weapon of international politics has, as we have seen, brought conflicts with Islam, the English and the missionaries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The advent of UNESCO brought yet another threat to the monopoly of the French language and education in French Black Africa.

This began when UNESCO commenced to urge the worldwide development of basic or fundamental education shortly after its inception. The French reaction was to establish the French Center for the Study and Information on Basic Education. Pilot programs were developed in French Sub-Saharan Africa as early as 1949 and, in 1956, a Higher Council for Overseas Basic Education was formed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Overseas France. This Council was to expedite the transition from the stage of experimentation to that of action.[45]

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[43] Université de Dakar, Statistiques des Effectifs des Étudiants, 1961-1962, pp. 4-5.

[44] Students enrolled in both the University and an Institute have been counted twice.

However, the idea never became popular with either the French or the Africans. Many of the latter group believed the project was a ruse to substitute inexpensive education for the genuine article and preferred to vote funds for the expensive French system. When some African politicians suggested that UNESCO finance further experimentation, the French government apparently opposed the move because they feared foreign propagandists would be included among the UNESCO technicians.

As the vogue of fundamental education declined, the apparition of African nationalism brought a new trend, the Africanization of culture. With the coming of independence, this move was encouraged by UNESCO, which offered printing facilities and language experts to develop and print the indigenous languages.

The UNESCO-sponsored Inter-African Conference held at Tananarive, Madagascar (September 3-12, 1962) and attended by forty-five experts representing twenty-eight countries indicates a recent example of UNESCO policy. The theme of the conference was "The Adaptation of General Secondary-Level Courses of Study in Africa." The conference had as an object, according to an official French source, "a cultural emancipation permitting the affirmation of the African personality."[46]

A major problem exists in this regard since the secondary curriculum is closely tied to the European examination systems. Although, since independence (1960), the French African demand for equivalence of secondary education and for liberal access to French higher education has been maintained, a move to substitute African subject matter for the French, wherever possible, has grown in strength.

The obvious problem to be resolved is the extent and the direction of this adaptation. The French have no objection to the adaptation of education on their own terms, that is, as long as it does not seriously interfere with keeping the Africans in the French tradition. Indeed, in 1955, the French were working on the modification of the first (preliminary) cycle of secondary education in French West Africa in order to render it a complete, terminal unit for most of the Africans who would not continue to the second (higher) cycle.[47] However, the

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45. France, M.E.N., M.F.O.M., "Principes d'une Doctrine d'Education de Base," Bulletin de Liaison, No. 10, 2e Trimestre, 1956, p. 5.

46. France, M.E.N., "Les Conférences de Tananarive," Coopération Pédagogique, No. 1, January-February-March, 1963, p. 38.

47. G. H. Camerlynck, "L'adaptation de l'enseignement dans le second degré (Premier Cycle)," L'Education Africaine, No. 26-27, 1955, pp. 7-13.

Africanization movement, if carried to extremes, could mean a progressive de-emphasis of French civilization in the curriculum. Only at the second or higher cycle of secondary education are the French secure, since these three years are firmly tied to the baccalaureate examination.

The Political Steps to Independence. The Constitution of the Fifth French Republic, approved by the people in the referendum of September 28, 1958, removed the balance of power from the Parliament and concentrated it in the hands of the executive.

Under the new Constitution, the French Union of the Fourth Republic was replaced by the French Community. The concept of the French Union reflected the centralizing and assimilative tradition of the Third Republic while the Community, in contrast, acknowledged the right of self-government and even of secession.[48] However, affairs of common interest, such as foreign and monetary policy, defense, inter-state communications and transportation, and higher education, were controlled by the Executive Council of the Community composed of the chief executives of the various territories and presided over by the President of the Community who was also the President of France.

The modification of the Constitution, permitting complete independence of the Sub-Saharan African states in 1960, meant that further relations between France and these nations would be arranged through treaties and contracts. Among the accords so arranged were those in the areas of "the development of culture and of education" and of technical assistance.[49]

New French institutions were formed to match these political changes. The new funding agency, replacing FIDES in April, 1959 and titled the Funds for Aid and Cooperation (FAC), received the authority to finance a much greater variety of operations than its predecessor possessed.[50] By a decree of June 10, 1961, the Ministry of Overseas France was replaced by the Ministry of Cooperation and the Minister of this new agency became chairman of the executive committee of FAC. The Ministry of Cooperation differed from its forerunner in that it deals solely with the new states of Sub-Saharan Africa including Madagascar.[51]

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[48] Gwendolen M. Carter, The Fifth French Republic (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), p. 14.

[49] France, Ministère de la Coopération, France, Afrique, Madagascar, Solidarité et Coopération, 1961, p. 5.

[50] Ibid., p. 14.

[51] Ibid.

The establishment of the European Community brought another source of aid to the French-speaking Sub-Saharan countries through the European Development Fund for the Overseas Countries (FEDOM). Maintained by the six member states for the benefit of any overseas nation associated with one of the members, the Fund receives approximately one-third of its support from France, a third from West Germany, and the remaining members contributing the final third. However, most of the aid dispensed was allocated to countries in the French sphere of influence, with the first financial assistance agreement for Sub-Saharan Africa being concluded on April 7, 1959.[52]

Present French Educational Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. In ultimate terms, French policy in the field of education clearly remains one of assimilation. Occasionally this general policy is described as continuation (of assimilation) and adaptation, implying assimilation to the French language and cultural tradition with adaptation of specific strategies to meet the needs and means of the Africans.

The main efforts of adaptation are being conducted to ensure the achievement of universal primary education. Although politically committed to this goal, the African countries generally lack the funds to fulfill it while maintaining the complete primary cycle of six years. French technical assistance personnel in various countries have proposed the establishment of a special four-year rural primary cycle in order to expose more of the school-age population to an education which is terminal for the majority and not merely a first preparatory step in the academic ladder. The Africans have been encouraged to invite French teams of economists and educators to devise national plans for economic and social development in which rural primary and vocational education strategies figure prominently.[53] Many other specific measures[54] have been advocated by the French authorities in order to make universal primary education both financially feasible and of practical value. Universal exposure to the French language and the development of a popular Franco-African culture remain dependent upon the expansion of the primary school.

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52. European Community, The European Development Fund and the Associated Overseas Countries (Brussels: European Community Information Service, 1962), p. 1.

53. Such plans had been devised for Chad, Upper Volta, and Dahomey by the summer of 1962. Only the plan for Upper Volta had been accepted by that time and, according to involved French officials, with some reluctance.

54. Many of the specific reforms are to be found in the Bulletin de Liaison, as well as in the plans listed in the preceding footnote.

The African elites have not, as yet, accepted these proposals with enthusiasm since they generally are politically committed to providing equal primary education to all their peoples and the reforms are often considered as "watered down, inexpensive" versions of education reminiscent of the colonial era.

In a reform paralleling that in France, the French are encouraging the strengthening of the vocational-technical educational tracks in Black Africa, where the lack of technicians is particularly acute. The traditional colonial-era preference for French rather than indigenous technicians, the weakness of French technical education, particularly overseas, and the promotion of the few existing African technicians to high level and, often, political positions with the coming of independence, have resulted in a great shortage of personnel in the middle level occupations. Realistically enough, the French officials of the Ministries of Cooperation and National Education recognize that a substantial number of the African graduates of higher technical education will prefer political positions as long as easy access to such careers is available.

This situation adversely affects the secondary level teaching field, where a large majority of the teachers are French. At the primary level, ninety-five per cent of the teachers are African, but many promising teachers enter the political field or accept high governmental administrative posts. However, a more significant problem appears to be the desire of the primary instructors to teach in the major cities as opposed to the rural areas. To counter this urge, the French officials have advocated a system of rural normal schools as in Senegal.

With the rapid expansion of primary education, the quality of instruction has suffered because of the shortage of trained teachers and the lack of in-service education programs.

To meet the intricate problems of priorities and investments, the French government is encouraging the Sub-Saharan African nations to train educators in national educational planning at the University of Paris. It is hoped they will become accustomed to viewing education as an integrated aspect of national economic and social development--gaining sophistication in planning effective educational strategies based upon realistic analyses of existing deficiencies in the educational system, well-defined needs, and the means at hand.

While increasing African access to a wider variety of metropolitan institutions of higher learning, including the renown Grands Écoles, the French are pursuing a policy of greater overseas technical assistance in the field of education, in spite of a teacher shortage within France. As of 1961, the French planned to increase the number of French educators in Sub-Saharan Africa by ten per cent annually for ten years while gradually withdrawing other forms of technical assistance.

Summary. French efforts in the field of education in Sub-Saharan Africa were greatly stimulated as a result of the Second World War. Although the First World War had a similar effect, the greater sophistication of the African and his growing demands after the second war as well as the French public commitments at the Brazzaville and Dakar Conferences, and in the French Constitution of 1946, made a relaxation of the overseas educational endeavor impossible as in the previous instance. Through the operation of the Overseas Plan for Modernization and Equipment, the Metropole made substantial grants and loans to the Sub-Saharan territories which permitted the construction of many secondary level school buildings.

As the African elite grew in political acumen, they were able to exert considerable influence upon the weak and divided governments of the Fourth Republic, demanding and obtaining, in principle, the right to education in the territories exactly the equivalent of that in France.

The reorganized rural primary system consisted of a six-year cycle of instruction which placed it theoretically on a par with the city schools in Africa and with those of metropolitan France. In 1950, the school system in the West African territories was provided with the same administrative structure as that in France. However, the costs of maintaining and staffing this expanded and equivalent system had begun to weigh heavily upon territorial budgets and the school construction program, financed by the Metropole, was cut sharply.

At the present time, the French government has proposed to the various Black African states different plans to promote rural primary education which are both more adapted to the rural environment and less expensive to operate. But, as yet, the Africans have proved reluctant to accept such plans and they are supported, in some cases, by the tradition-minded French educators serving in Africa. Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the high costs of maintaining a French metropolitan-type system precludes the possibility of achieving universal primary education.

The French remain extremely interested in obtaining this universality in education because it means wholesale induction into the French language and the realization of a long-sought goal, the creation of a Franco-African mass or popular culture. The French drive toward cultural or psychological assimilation may manifest itself differently according to the exigencies of the moment, but it remains ever present. The recommendations, made by the French directors of education of Sub-Saharan Africa in 1952, that all overseas territories be referred to as France and all colonial peoples as Frenchmen in all school texts, maps, and in oral references by teachers, may be outdated, but the spirit behind them burns as zealously as ever.

THE INTENT OF FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

Educational strategies, or the planning and directing of educational developments, are conceived and placed into operation to achieve certain purposes. The concern in this chapter is to render explicit the French intent and its degree of consistency from a long-range aspect. This intent will be considered primarily in terms of ultimate or more distant goals rather than in the form of immediate outcomes related to specific strategies.

While the French intentions will be presented as applicable to their former Sub-Saharan territories as a whole, certain distinctions should be recalled between the former Federation of West Africa, the mandated territories of Cameroon and Togo, and the Federation of Equatorial Africa. Considered the most retarded of French colonies, the latter federation received scant attention from the Metropole, as compared to the other colonies, until after the Second World War. Its educational development was left largely in the hands of the missionaries and only by 1944 had the meager school population of the public schools surpassed that of the private institutions.[1] The mandated territories of Cameroon and Togo fared much better because of their unique status, but the Federation of West Africa has played the dominant role in the French educational effort in Black Africa. Generally speaking, the endeavor in West Africa has produced the models for public education in the other territories.

However, this distinction in the degree, as well as some differences in the specific means of educational development, does not reflect a significant variation in the French intentions. The ends remain the same even though the means and the timetables differ.

The Ultimate Intentions of French Educational Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa. The failures of Louis XVIII and of Napoleon Bonaparte successfully to establish French hegemony on the European continent led the French imperialists to seek other means of asserting and maintaining

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[1] The detailed comparative educational statistics of all these Sub-Saharan territories for the years of 1937-38, 1944-45, 1948-49, and 1949-50 may be found in the following source: France, Annuaire Statistiques de l'Union Francaise Outre-Mer, 1939-1949, pp. 211-228.

France as a world power. Following the example of England, France turned to other continents where military conquests met less resistance and which might furnish the Metropole with the raw materials and the markets deemed necessary for a nation entering into the industrial revolution.

At the same time that France, from a military standpoint, was being repulsed on the European continent, her language and culture were gaining international recognition as the highest expression of Western civilization. French had replaced Latin as the international language; French culture set the standards for the European aristocrats, while the ideals of the French revolution enthralled the European liberals.

As the students of French history and their publications testify, no one was more impressed by this cultural ascension than the French themselves. Under the circumstances, the constant references in French publications to France's "civilizing mission" are not surprising. Since the French consider their language as a major aspect of their culture, it represents the key to the cultural assimilation of less civilized peoples. The French school, in turn, acts as the medium through which that language and culture are acquired. Hence, in 1962, when French officials concerned with the development and implementation of educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa, assert[2] that the purpose of their work is to continue the assimilation of the Black African, they are confirming the central purpose maintained by their predecessors for approximately 150 years.[3]

It is important to distinguish political from cultural assimilation as a clarification of the ultimate French intent in the field of education. Political assimilation, when carried to its logical conclusion, would have shifted the control of the French government from the peoples of the Metropole to those of the overseas territories by the weight of sheer numerical superiority. Thus, political assimilation proceeded as far as it could in the years following the Second World War and then gave way to the French Community concept and, subsequently, to independence with continuing close economic and cultural ties when the peoples of Overseas France demanded greater representation at the political level. The very fact of the impossibility of genuine political assimilation argued well for the need for cultural assimilation as an enduring instrument for maintaining French dominance.

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[2] As interviewed by the author.

[3] The exception to this statement may have been the first French lay educator sent to Sub-Saharan Africa by the French government. He advocated educating the natives in their indigenous tongues, at least in the initial stages.

By 1829 a comprehensive plan of native education was devised and approved. The plan called for the ultimate eradication of indigenous linguistic and cultural differences through the annual production of a French-educated indigenous elite which would gradually civilize their brothers. This elite was to be educated in local boarding schools to ensure isolation from the African environment and the acquisition of the French language and culture.

As the French extended their influence and their educational facilities in Sub-Saharan Africa, the principle of "disengaging the elite and instructing the mass"[4] became explicit. In terms of cultural assimilation, this meant the total assimilation of an indigenous elite who were to become "complete Frenchmen"[5] and the partial but progressive assimilation of the masses through the development of a Franco-African culture which, in time, would evolve ever closer to French civilization.

In terms of organization, the adaptation of French education had resulted in the emergence of a two-track school system about the middle of the nineteenth century: a metropolitan-type education for the children of the French colonials and of the assimilated natives as well as for the sons of chiefs and other native notables, and a more adapted, rudimentary education for the mass. In general, the former track existed in the larger urban and administrative centers while the latter radiated out into the interior. Because of both the acute need and the relative ease of development, the system of educating the French children and an auxiliary elite evolved first.

The Education of an Indigenous Elite. Throughout the French colonial literature, reference is made to different types of colonies primarily based upon whether or not the territories were suitable for settlement by large numbers of French people. Frequently, lands in which conditions were favorable for French migration were known as colonies of colonization and the others were referred to as colonies of exploitation.

In the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, it was rapidly discovered that the colonies were unsuitable for French emigration. Thus the initial aim of primary education and that of secondary education, once it was developed, lay in the formation of an African elite which would serve as intermediaries between the French and the indigenous mass.

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[4] Thompson and Adloff, French West Africa, p. 518.

[5] France, B.O.M.C., Instruction Publique, Report of June 20, 1919, 1919, p. 941.

Three categories of natives were channeled into the schools under the elite-building process: the sons of the chiefs and of other native notables, the sons of the already assimilated natives employed by the French and the mulattoes, and other pupils demonstrating scholarly achievement and the proper attitude toward Frenchification. However, only the students from the first group were exempt from taking the entrance examinations which opened the door to secondary education.

Historically, the sons of chiefs were taken as hostages and educated in the French tradition regardless of their desires. As the French sphere of influence grew, the sons of chiefs were compelled to complete primary education and were then selected for enrollment at the secondary level based upon a report prepared by the district administrator and verified by the inspector of administrative affairs. A committee of the highest colonial officials made the final selections.

The schools or sections for sons of chiefs were usually under the jurisdiction of the highest political rather than the educational authority. For example, in French West Africa, the lieutenant-governor of Senegal had direct authority over the school; the inspector of administrative affairs exercised the disciplinary needs instead of the inspector of education, and the final decisions for promotion or release from the school were made by the governor.[6]

The graduates, if they wished, were granted positions as secretaries of the native administration directly under the district administrator. After a minimum of four years' service, they could be appointed "canton chiefs, tenth class."[7]

The other native students received less delicate handling from the French authorities in that they succeeded to the ranks of the elite by merit through a competitive academic process. Many of these students came from assimilated families which, obviously, gave them an advantage over those whose backgrounds afforded less early and substantial contact with the French language and way of life.

These students were usually educated as primary teachers, interpreters, medical assistants, and as administrative aides of various types. After the Second World War, increased opportunities for a more academic secondary and higher education provided greater access to professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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[6] Government-General of French West Africa, Recueil des Textes Officiels relatif à l'Enseignement et au Personnel de l'Enseignement, 1919, pp. 25, 27, 30.

[7] Ibid., p. 31.

The Education of the Mass. As previously noted, the ultimate objective of mass or popular education was the creation of a Franco-African culture which would progressively evolve toward French civilization. While the French have generally considered this purpose as a long-range and difficult goal to achieve, they have recognized a relative lack of progress in this area as compared with the education of the elite.

Aside from the substantial attempts to use Christianity as a medium of partial acculturation, the French have employed, to varying degrees, three major strategies in the education of the mass: regular primary schooling, adult education, and fundamental or basic education. Neither of the latter two means has had the moral or monetary support of the French as compared to that devoted to the primary school system. Because of the perennial scarcity of funds, the priority was continually granted to the formal school system.

It is quite possible that the French considered these means as less effective in the achievement of a Franco-African culture than the formal education of the young native where French was the language of instruction. While one of the chief activities of basic and adult education was the instruction of elementary French, the development of concepts in such areas as sanitation and agriculture necessitated the use of the vernacular language.

Basic education did not escape from official French management once the British and the UNESCO programs received notoriety. Organizations for its control were developed within the Ministries of Overseas France and National Education, at the federal or territorial group level, and within each colony or territory. To ensure the scientific development of a basic or elementary French, a special ministerial committee was established as well as a Center for the Study of Elementary French at the École Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud.

However, as admitted in an official bulletin, the French have always regarded basic vocabularies and grammars with a "certain suspicion, sometimes even with a strong hostility"[8] since they represent a distortion of pure language, thought and culture. Indeed, as previously mentioned, the whole concept of basic education appears to be conceived as ineffectual and as an unsatisfactory solution to the education of Africans by many French administrators and educators. This opinion, echoed by the majority of the African elite, limited the extensive development of this strategy.

On the other hand, adult education, primarily concerned with French language instruction and basic arithmetic, had been sponsored by the

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[8] "Le Francais Élémentaire," Bulletin de Liaison, No. 11, 1956, p. 1.

French many decades prior to the advent of basic education and community development. Classes were usually formed wherever enough adults could be collected and signed up for a minimum of one month's attendance. However, such courses were generally restricted to the urban areas and large administrative centers where the advantages of speaking French were obvious to the indigenous adults.

The language schools represented the lowest echelon of the formal school system and while their actual organization and official designation varied through the years, the major intent remained constant: "diffusion of French in the mass of the population."[9] The blanketing of the Sub-Saharan territories with a network of such schools represented a goal traditionally pursued by the French.

This difficult task has received priority, on paper if not in fact, throughout most of the French presence in Sub-Saharan Africa. Following the Second World War, this priority was reaffirmed periodically in French policy statements based upon the new rights accorded to the natives:

> The acquired rights would be illusionary and the real participation in the political, intellectual, and social life of the nation practically impossible without this knowledge of the language of the community.[10]

In extending the practical arguments for the universal usage of French rather than the indigenous languages, the same document noted as follows: "Without the usage of an elementary French, the African is diminished and withheld from the French community."[11]

Access to the elite class, it was further argued, was dependent upon primary level instruction in the French language:

> There are no studies possible for the African elite, particularly in the sciences and the technical fields, without the usage of French; but this elite cannot be determined in advance due to the democratic character of the Constitution. It follows that, in order to allow equal opportunity for all pupils, it is necessary to permit them the usage of a common language of culture.[12]

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[9] France, Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1931, p. 7.

[10] France, M.F.O.M., L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1950, p. 37.

[11] Ibid., p. 38.

[12] Ibid., p. 37.

The weaknesses and diversity of the local languages were also referred to in terms of a Franco-African culture. Citing the lack of a fixed or written African literature, the article concluded on this point: "On the other hand, a literature in French by Africans is the point of departure of a neo-African culture."[13]

Basically, there has been little change in the French reasoning for the extension of French education and language in Sub-Saharan Africa since independence. According to the present rationalization, this system and language now serves as a liberating channel which enables the Africans to develop modern and coherent nations.

The Criterion of Utility. The paramount goal of cultural assimilation was not without immediate utilitarian implications at either the elite or mass level of education. Indeed, the French fear of producing a "useless product" was voiced consistently in the literature.

However, only after the organization of the Federation of French West Africa in 1903 and the formulation of the comprehensive educational act of that year was the criterion of utility specifically and consistently applied to public native education. Reaching its peak in the 1920's and 1930's, this policy had to be modified after 1944 because of the political situation which found the Africans demanding a replica of the metropolitan school system.

In economic terms, the creation of a Franco-African culture largely implied the eventual development of a productive rural population oriented to a cash crop economy. However, the communication barrier greatly hampered the enlistment of native cooperation and the French distaste of reliance upon native interpreters is reflected in the phrase: *"Translation, treason."* *Frequently found in the literature*, this statement implies more than the deliberate subversion of the message by the indigenous interpreter; it refers to the difficulties of communicating concepts and motivating change through the indirect method. Thus, Sarraut's emphasis upon the "economic utility of educating the mass,"[14] had genuine significance.

At its lowest and basic echelon, the chief aim of primary education was the exposure of as many young natives as possible to a minimal education which would produce a French-speaking populace, but one which would not be dislocated from the land. A complementary aim consisted of the implantation of enough of the entrepreneurial spirit to engender a favorable attitude toward change without fomenting discontent through the creation of unrealizable expectations.

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[13] Ibid., p. 38.

[14] France, B.O.M.C., Instruction Publique, Circular of October 20, 1920, 1921, p. 6.

Value systems were to be reoriented, but not discarded. With the progressive achievement of these objectives, French administrative and technical personnel would be in a position to develop the rural economy with greater effectiveness. Judging from the present rural education programs being proposed to various African countries, it would appear that the French government favors a return to this system which was abandoned through the politics of the post-war era.

Selected students were permitted further education in order to be trained as native assistants in the public and private sectors, according to local needs. Prior to the reforms following the Second World War, a strict quantitative control over the output at this level was enforced to avoid the creation of unemployed intellectuals.

Prior to 1945, all of the complete secondary courses for the whole of French Sub-Saharan Africa were located in Senegal. In addition to the regular lycées, technical institutions existed there to produce primary teachers, assistant doctors, marine mechanics, and a few other types of technicians. The output of these schools was extremely small.[15]

This fact held true for the entire vocational-technical track of French Black Africa, since there existed little need for skilled labor because of the lack of industrialization and the French practice of employing metropolitan personnel in positions which other colonial powers reserved for natives. The absence of a strong vocational-technical education track constituted a reflection of the character of the French Sub-Saharan economy to some extent. The demands for semi-skilled and skilled native manpower were sufficiently low and spotty to permit a reliance upon a method of informal apprenticeship training. However, after the war, the shortage of skilled labor and technicians was cited as one of the principal obstacles to the modernization of French Black Africa,[16] and the abandonment of the "empirical method of vocational training" in French West Africa was officially announced in 1951.[17] A metropolitan system of accelerated training was to be installed until the output of the formal vocational-technical track reached substantial proportions.

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[15] The total enrollment of the normal schools and courses in French West Africa for the 1937-1938 academic year stood at 146 students. France, Annuaire Statistique de l'Union Francaise d'Outre-Mer, 1939-1949, p. 225.

[16] France, L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1951, p. 181.

[17] France, L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1950, Education Annex, p. 1.

While the French educational system in Sub-Saharan Africa proved to be woefully inadequate in meeting post-war needs, it should be kept in mind that the phenomena of accelerated development and Africanization of the civil service were outcomes of the Second World War. Prior to that time, despite periodic ambitious policy statements, educational output in French Black Africa was largely geared to, or below, the immediate absorptive capacity of the local public and private sectors. This criterion of utility, stemming from pre-war concepts of economic and social development growth rates, left the colonies with vast educational needs after the war.

The Implication of Adaptation. The installation of a European system of education in Black Africa obviously required some form of adaptation. However, as Professor Gourou pointed out, the word "adaptation" is sufficiently vague to carry at least two connotations.[18] First, it may imply the creation of a virtually new and distinct system based upon a disinterested response to local conditions and needs. Fundamental education might be considered an example of this type of adaptation. Second, adaptation may be viewed as an imposition of a foreign system with a minimum of modification, initiated primarily by motives of self-interest.

The adaptation of French education to the needs of the natives implied that the indigenous requirements consisted of progressive Frenchification. As conceived by the French, adaptation at the level of mass education was particularly crucial because the native required partial acculturation without de-racialization. Theoretically, adaptation consisted of a delicately balanced process which would bring carefully controlled change.

The management of the dynamics of change was seen to involve a continuous evaluation of the school system to avoid both under- and over-education. This was conceived as a long-term process of correlating pedagogical sophistication with cultural change. The progressive reorientation of the indigenous culture to a European-type civilization would require the consistent re-adaptation of popular education to continue and to further the orderly shift in values, skills, and institutions. In short, adapted education was to be geared to produce the evolution of the mass and to avoid mass revolution.

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[18] M. Gourou, "L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies," Rapport Général (Paris: Congrés Intercolonial de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies et les Pays d'Outre-Mer, September 25-27, 1931), p. 308.

Since the French themselves could be little more than the directors of this evolution, the assimilated elite were to be prepared as the implementors of the program, or the active agents of change. This again involved a delicate task of acculturation without culturally isolating the Gallicized intermediaries from the mass. Periodically, the French policy-makers and pedagogues voiced fears of forming a modern native leadership completely divorced from their traditional culture.

Prior to the Second World War, the problem of adapting secondary education was partially resolved by restricting the availability of the full classical program. For example, only thirty-two lycée students in French Black Africa passed both parts of the baccalaureate examinations during the 1945-1946 academic year and the statistics do not indicate how many of these candidates were African rather than French.[19] Those few Africans gaining access to secondary education usually received the first cycle of secondary education, normal school training, or other forms of technical training.[20]

After the Second World War, the stress upon adaptation gave way before new political pressures and it came to be regarded as a matter of methodology to be applied at the teacher's discretion rather than as a system of curricular and organizational modification. The theory of controlled change, denounced by the Africans as a tool of colonialism and paternalism, was replaced by the theory of equality or identity. The metropolitan system was endorsed and the school populations of the various territories increased by 100% to 300% between 1946 and 1956.[21]

At the present time, the French and African purposes for educational adaptation appear to be somewhat in conflict. In general, the Africans seem desirous of Africanizing the curriculum; the French appear more anxious to modify the rural primary school organization in order to make it economically feasible to achieve universal primary education and, thereby, to extend the usage of the French language.

Conclusion. As so clearly stated by Senator Pezet in 1949, the French have instinctively and deliberately employed cultural expansion as an

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19. France, Annuaire Statistiques de l'Union Francaise Outre-Mer, 1939-1949, p. 224.

20. In addition, small numbers of Africans received secondary and higher education in France between the two World Wars.

21. During the ten-year period (1946-1956), the percentage of the school-age populations receiving some education increased as follows: Equatorial Africa--5.3% to 21.3%; West Africa--4.4% to 11.6%; Cameroon--27.1% to 54.1%; Togo--12.2% to 40.4%. France, M.F.O.M., Enseignement Outre-Mer, No. 8, December, 1956, p. 19.

instrument of foreign and colonial policy. Hence, it is not unduly surprising that the history of French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa at the intentional or policy level reveals a remarkable consistency of purposes, particularly after the metropolitan inquiry into the status and potential of Senegal in 1829.

At that time, the necessity of restructuring the native society and of reorienting the indigenous mentality through French education was enunciated. The report of the board of inquiry into education called for the exclusive use of French in the schools and the establishment of boarding schools as a requisite for the creation of a modern elite through isolation from the indigenous way of life. After completing their studies, the newly created elite were to become the secular missionaries to promote the French presence and the auxiliaries to the colonial administration.

As Senegal evolved from a colony of trading settlements to one of exploitation around the middle of the nineteenth century, the education of the mass was begun as the second step in the promotion of a Franco-African culture. This became particularly necessary after the failure of Governor Roger's experiment with the plantation system in the 1820's. It demonstrated that the development of West African agriculture would be dependent upon the mass of the indigenous peasants without the immediate supervision of a French overseer. Since communication had to precede effective innovation on a massive scale, the rural primary school was viewed as a major instrument to effect native collaboration.

From these early beginnings, the French developed a series of strategies for the education of both the elite and the mass. At the elite level, measures were taken to ensure the cooptation of the traditional native leadership while, at the same time, a modern elite was being developed through the regular channels of competition and selection. In the former instance, French primary schooling became compulsory for the sons of chiefs and influential families and admission to secondary education was based upon political considerations rather than on entrance examinations. Indeed, when and where such programs were put in operation, the local French administrative authorities superseded the education officials as supervisors.

The modern elite, arising through academic competition, were absorbed into the French administration, where primary school teaching offered the most opportunity and considerable prestige prior to the Loi-Cadre of 1956. Their role was to serve the colonial administrative needs and to collaborate in the development of a new popular culture. As primary teachers, they were placed in a position to fulfill both of these purposes.

The primary school system was devised as a selective mechanism for the modern elite and as a long-range instrument for the creation of a Franco-African civilization. Until 1946, the system actually consisted of rural and urban components, with the former having an adapted organization and curriculum and the latter resembling the metropolitan schools.

It should be remembered that France did not intend to pay for African human resource development from metropolitan funds, and this principle forestalled the rapid expansion of public education until 1946. In fact, outside of French West Africa, public education remained largely a system on paper prior to that time. Religious orders, initially solicited by the metropolitan government and subsidized through local colonial revenue, were relied upon to conduct the educational endeavor in accordance with regulations provided by the state. These regulations, ensuring French as the language of instruction and the adherence to a prescribed curriculum, were aimed against the employment of indigenous languages in the mission schools and of English by the foreign missionaries in those zones where international agreement permitted their presence.

The consequences of the Second World War forced an acceleration of the French educational efforts, and this endeavor has been maintained and extended in order to further the psychological assimilation of the Africans. The dictum of one of the chief architects of French overseas education, Pierre Foncin, is more pertinent today than in 1900. Through French learning, an indelible French presence is maintained irrespective of political events. The philosophy behind the metropolitan Sub-Saharan educational strategies might be summarized in the following words: To think in French is to be French.

THE DERIVATION OF FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

The purpose of this section is to identify the origins or sources from which the educational strategies were derived. These sources are considered in an order proceeding from the abstract and continuing phenomena to the more concrete factors related to a specific era.

In sequence, the topics covered are: ethnocentric idealism, culture as an instrument of foreign policy, the Zeitgeist, politics and economics, the influence of non-governmental organizations, and the role of individuals in the development of educational strategies.[1] Obviously, this serves as an analytical instrument since many of these elements operated concomitantly.

The designation of these factors, eclectic as they may seem, as sources for educational strategies will be clarified. For example, the Zeitgeist[2] (literally, "the spirit of the times") could be defined as an inclusive term covering several of the other phenomena. Conversely, the concept of Zeitgeist might be considered as a vague generalization which should be replaced by an analysis of its specific components. The employment of the concept herein represents a compromise between these two extremes. It is used as the most convenient and adequate means of describing the climate of opinion of a specific era, but certain of its constituent elements are treated separately because of their special importance in the formulation of given educational strategies.

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[1] Portions of books by the following authors, listed in the bibliography but not quoted, were employed in the development of this chapter: Raymond F. Betts, Paul Giran, Nicholas Hans, Rhoda Metraux and Margaret Mead, Julian Clark (ed.), and Robert Ulich. André Siegfried's works were particularly useful, as well as the many documents cited throughout the study. Among the latter, the reports of the Conférence de l'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies, of which only those of Davesne and Gourou are cited, deal specifically with French cultural attitudes and their effect upon overseas education. For further background, see Laurence W. Wylie's Village in the Vaucluse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957). Since World War II there have been few, if any, satisfactory studies of French society; despite the earlier work of Auguste Comte, and later that of Durkheim, the classical tradition did not permit the development of sociology, anthropology, and psychology in France, in contrast to the broad emphasis on these fields in the United States.

[2] Zeitgeist is a conceptual term derived from German philosophy, adopted into English and for which there is no adequate equivalent in French. Since this study is written in English, the use of the term seems acceptable. In French literature and philosophy the term "le Zeitgeist" is a relatively common one.

Ethnocentric Idealism. The assimilative goals of French educational strategies may be accounted for partially by the intensity and nature of French ethnocentricity. National myths in France probably have been more overtly rationalized and explicitly defined than in Anglo-Saxon countries.

In essence, the national myth established France as the standard-bearer of western civilization, a role inherited from Greece and Rome. In this myth, French culture as the exemplar of western achievement is considered to have a universal quality which renders it applicable everywhere.

In this concept, France is seen, not as a race or nation, but as a mature world of being and a sophisticated way of thought and action open to the world at large. Rejecting such contemporary forces as Russian communism and American materialism as transitory extremes, this state of mind reflects a critical but open attitude which sifts the universal from the parochial in the Socratic tradition.

In this context, the French language is often conceived as an outstanding instrument of precise thought and expression and as the necessary condition for the initiation to the universal spirit and tradition of France. The saying, "What is not clear is not French," refers to both of these values.

This cultural tradition has made it difficult for many French educators concerned with Sub-Saharan Africa to support instruction in basic or elementary French and any adaptation of the curriculum. For example, efforts to include the publications of modern authors, either African or French, whose works related to the African environment, have been resisted on the grounds of mediocrity.

Considering this great and traditional valuation of the French language and of other Gallic cultural forms and conversely, a low esteem for the Sub-Saharan indigenous cultures, the constant references to the "civilizing mission of France" appear acceptable as genuine expressions of ethnocentric idealism. For those idealists endorsing Hubert's reference to France as "the fatherland of humanity,"[3] and the myriad of similar sentiments appearing in the colonial literature, to attempt less than the Frenchification of the Africans would involve a neglect of one's humane duty.

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[3] Lucien Hubert, "La Colonisation Intellectuelle," Revue de l'Enseignement Colonial (January, March, 1905), pp. 1-3.

While obviously not all Frenchmen can be classified as ethnocentric idealists or as advocates of cultural assimilation, an important segment of the policy-makers and implementors appears to have held convictions similar to those quoted above throughout the period covered in this study (1815-1962). It is suggested that these attitudes and assumptions, aspects of the French psyche or world of mind, should be considered as real and motivating forces significant in the formulation and implementation of French policy.

In his comprehensive analysis of the derivations of French patriotism, Hayes[4] gave considerable attention to the far-reaching effects of the role of the State in all areas of the national economic and social life including the control of culture and education. Convinced that the schools constitute a major factor in the formation of the rather unique attitudes of the French, Hayes conducted a detailed study of various types and levels of curriculum and of the content of many of the textbooks. His research findings reveal a degree of indoctrination of nationalism unknown in the United States. Patriotic content monopolizes every subject in the curriculum which lends itself to interpretation and this content is studied and restudied until the French child may literally conceive of France as "the leader and champion of the world's civilization."[5]

The indoctrination is continued by other governmental and quasi-public agencies after the Frenchman completes his formal education. The armed forces were among the examples of such institutions studied by Hayes and he quoted the following text from an official handbook (1927) for soldiers and non-commissioned officers as an illustration of the type of direct propaganda they received:

> The love of the Fatherland is the source of all virtue. . . . This love is innate in every Frenchman who feels the heartbeat in his breast. One must, however, have crossed the frontiers, lived in other climates, and followed roads which are not those of France in order really to know what attaches us to our native land. We suffer when far from our fatherland, and when we return to it we are like an invalid who has been restored to health. Our enemies themselves know how sweet it is to live here, how beautiful, fertile and attractive it is.

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[4] Carlton J. H. Hayes, France, A Nation of Patriots (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930).

[5] Ibid., p. 2.

> A famous foreigner could say: every man has two fatherlands, his own and France. We should be proud of the French fatherland, which has always been the leader of human conscience and dignity. It has sponsored the noblest ideas and has poured out without measure its gold and its blood for altruistic causes. Its brilliant genius, so attractive and seductive, the true home of intelligence and feelings, radiates over the whole world the glory of the French name.[6]

The pervasive and intense nature of this national message appears to account for the French assumptions of cultural superiority. The evidence indicates that, among many Frenchmen, the spirit of universalism, Gallic style, reaches a degree of evangelism which manifests itself in an urge to assimilate peoples of other cultures wherever the opportunity presents itself.

While this may be considered as an ethnocentric pursuit of a narrowly conceived type of universalism by non-French peoples, it should be recognized that it is partially motivated by a spirit of idealism transcending self-interest. This spirit of conviction lends a force to French cultural imperialism which an insincere motive could not provide. But it should also be noted how successful the French have been in creating an idealistic rationale which coincides with, or affirms, national interests.

Culture as an Instrument of Foreign Policy. The documents over the years consistently stress the national advantage of educating foreign peoples in the French tradition. In fact, the metropolitan government has partially subsidized French schools all over the world, including the United States, in the conviction that the creation of a group of Francophiles among the upper classes of any country would be of service to the French cause.

Thus, the French have consciously employed their education system and language as an instrument of foreign and colonial policy. They have waged a persistent campaign to capture men's minds as the most enduring and complete means of ensuring the French presence, regardless of economic, political, and military events. Indeed, as early as 1900, psychological assimilation through French education was viewed as the ultimate weapon to continue French influence in the colonies as they moved toward an autonomous status. Shifts in the general colonial policy from assimilation to association had little effect upon the fundamental objectives of French educational strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa. Prior to the Second World War, association implied a decentralization of power and responsibility from the Paris ministries to the local colonial authorities in order to provide for a flexibility of action according to the situation in a given colony or group of colonies. In the field of education, it had real significance only in those regions of the Empire where strong ethnic traditions forced modifications in the mode and intensity of French cultural imperialism.

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[6] Ibid., p. 77.

It will be recalled that the French, according to their own testimony, felt relatively little or no cultural resistance in Black Africa and were able to develop a system of education based entirely upon their own rationale. It is interesting to note that only France, among the colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa, insisted upon the universal employment of the metropolitan tongue as the language of instruction at the primary school level. In defense of this decision, the French have periodically provided lengthy pedagogical and practical explanations for indigenous and foreign consumption. However, as pointed out by Professor Gourou at the 1931 Conference on Colonial Education, the choice of language was actually a political rather than a pedagogical decision.[7] In his report upon education in French West Africa at the same conference, the primary inspector for that territory concluded his arguments for the use of French as follows:

> Finally let us add that France thus (by using the native languages) would deprive herself of one of the most justified means of extending her influence in the world. Whatever fate the future holds for our colonies, it is proper that, in Black Africa, the French language be firmly enough implanted to be able to resist eventualities.[8]

This often-echoed theme of the long-range political value of imposing the French language and education was reinforced by the early recognition that the usefulness of Black Africa was dependent upon the collaboration of the native, since large-scale French migration was impossible.

This moral and mental annexation or assimilation of the African was viewed not only as a device to strengthen the ties between France and the colonies, but also as a weapon to increase the prestige of

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7. M. Gourou, "L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies," Rapport Général (de la conférence), (Paris: Congrés Intercolonial de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies et les Pays d'Outre-Mer, September 25-27, 1931), p. 308.

8. M. Davesne, "Rapport sur l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise," L'Adaptation de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies, Congrés Intercolonial de l'Enseignement dans les Colonies et les Pays d'Outre-Mer (Paris: Henri Didier, 1932), p. 106.

France as a world power. After the death of Louis XIV and the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Gallic leadership recognized that French hegemony in Europe could not be maintained through direct military action on the continent. Following the lead of England, France sought to fashion a colonial empire which would provide her with the qualifications to play the game of international power politics on a par with countries possessing greater intra-national strength.

From the French point of view, these qualifications required the production of indigenous colonial populations which would identify psychologically with France. As the enormity of this task in Sub-Saharan Africa became apparent, the development of a Frenchified elite assumed an initial priority which was to be followed by the progressive assimilation of the native mass. Hence, the political motivation for a Greater France reinforced the assimilation tendencies generated by the idealistic faith in French universalism.

The Zeitgeist. The Zeitgeist, or prevailing climate of opinion, constituted the indirect effecter of several Sub-Saharan educational strategies. For example, at the time the initial decision was taken to invest in the development of Senegal (1815-1816) the monitorial system of Lancaster and Bell was receiving worldwide notoriety as the ultimate solution to the education of the masses. The Ministry of the Navy accepted the validity of this system without question and decided, a priori, on its applicability to the colonies. Hence, the first educational strategy for Senegal consisted of the employment of the monitorial system, and it operated for many years before being discarded.

The metropolitan climate of opinion prevailing around the turn of the nineteenth century certainly stimulated the institution of public education in French Sub-Saharan Africa. Following the final political defeat of the conservatives in 1879, the trend toward secularization in France gained momentum and the Dreyfus scandal, occurring during the last decade of the nineteenth century, served to arouse the national anti-clerical sentiment to unprecedented heights. On January 22, 1903, the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution calling for the secularization of the schools in the colonies. Interestingly enough, the first president of the Mission Laique, the organization founded for that very purpose, was Pierre Foncin, the leading policy adviser on overseas education, and the second president was none other than Gaston Doumergue, the Minister of Colonies. Hence, it is no surprise that the first comprehensive and successful plan for public education in French Sub-Saharan Africa went into effect in November, 1903, and that over thirty lay teachers arrived in West Africa during that same month to implement the new policy. Earlier attempts to establish public secular education in West Africa had ultimately failed because of the lack of consistent, vigorous metropolitan support. These endeavors had proved premature in terms of the Zeitgeist.

Another era of importance in terms of this rather nebulous but historically important factor was the period following the Second World War. The sequence of events prior to the conclusion of that struggle impressed the Free French with the loyalty of the Black Africans and of the importance of the colonial empire in salvaging the grandeur of France. Thus, the aura of post-war metropolitan goodwill toward Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the attempt to coopt the colonies into a Greater France capable of vying with the United States and the Soviet Union, created a climate of opinion receptive to changes in colonial policy. At the same time, the events of the war caused the growing French Black African elite to demand policy changes. Thus, the coincidence of these developments in France and Africa, as well as the worldwide climate of opinion, made possible the emergence of a new educational goal in French Tropical Africa. In essence this new goal, constituting a reversal of the previous stress upon the adaptation of education, granted the principle of equivalence to Black Africans. The post-war strategies in the field of education were designed to meet this target.

Politics and Economics. From the preceding discussion it is apparent that political and economic factors contributed largely to the development and nature of the Zeitgeist of a given era. Hence, such factors constituted causes of change in educational strategies. For example, it has been demonstrated that the political ascendancy of the metropolitan liberal forces, within one decade after the establishment of the Third Republic, led to the inauguration of a genuine system of public education in French West Africa. This major strategy, along with its antecedent causation, marked the beginning of what has been designated in this study as the Formative Period (1870-1944) in French Sub-Saharan education.

In like manner, the strategy of developing French Tropical African education in the metropolitan image, a distinguishing feature of the Modern Period (1944-1962), was a result of the political situation generated by World War II. Indeed, the prevailing political climate in France consistently affected the status of French Sub-Saharan education.

Similarly, metropolitan economic factors played a significant role in the initiation and development of French education in Tropical Africa. The first development plan, devised for Senegal in the second decade of the nineteenth century, was based upon an assumption that a cooperative and partially westernized labor market could be formed through apprenticeship training in a cash crop economy, Christianization, and formal education.

The metropolitan inquiry of 1829, motivated by the lack of agricultural production anticipated by the plan, led to a significant new and lasting educational strategy in French Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the chief investigator, Jubelin, social change constituted a major task of local colonialization and such a change, he reported, could only be brought about through introducing the natives to the French language and way of life. This, in turn, could only be accomplished through the assimilation of an indigenous elite who would gradually civilize their fellow Africans. Jubelin's commission on native education reported that the formation of such an elite depended upon three conditions: the use of French as the medium of instruction, the isolation of the students from the native way of life through the institution of school boarding facilities, and the recruitment of a distinguished metropolitan educator to direct the needed reforms.

Almost one hundred years later, when the coordinated economic development of France and the Empire was viewed as of primordial importance by the technicians and economists dominating the governments following the First World War, overseas education was rejuvenated and given a practical, vocational orientation. The fact that human resource development through education was a prerequisite to overseas economic development was clearly perceived by one minister of colonies after another. The practical orientation of formal education was further stimulated by the depression. In French Sub-Saharan Africa, a serious attempt to integrate agricultural training into the curriculum of the rural primary schools was inaugurated in 1930 and was only abandoned at the close of the Second World War when the political situation demanded the reversal of this strategy.

Thus, the interaction of politics and economics greatly influenced the initiation, pursuit, and status of French educational strategies in Black Africa.

The Influence of Non-Governmental Organizations. The nature of the educational strategies devised for Sub-Saharan Africa was partially determined by non-governmental organizations, which may be categorized as religious, professional, and commercial.

Up until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church and the French State worked closely together in the matter of colonialization. The government utilized the French branch of the Church to civilize native populations who, as Christians, were much more cooperative with French authority than were the non-Christian elements. The Church, in turn, sponsored by the metropolitan government and subsidized to a large extent by local colonial revenue, was provided the means of extending Christianity throughout the world. Even the split between the Church and the State during the Third Republic did not completely destroy this mutually beneficial relationship in Sub-Saharan Africa. The metropolitan government continued to finance the training of those novices who were destined for overseas instructors' posts, and the local colonies continued subsidies to mission schools.

Powerful secular organizations which greatly influenced the nature and extension of French overseas education were the Alliance Francaise, founded in 1883, and the Mission Laique, established in 1902. Both bodies were organized by influential educators, other intellectuals, and politicians who were dissatisfied with the official efforts in French overseas education. The Alliance membership included Church officials, but the Mission Laique was founded to encourage the development of secular overseas education. Both of these agencies sent funds, teachers, and textbooks to support the endeavor in Tropical Africa. Further, they publicized throughout France the lamentable state of French education in the area, and pressured the metropolitan government to give more attention to the problem. Indeed, since many of the leaders of the government and Parliament were included in the membership, the organizations rapidly assumed a quasi-official status. There is no doubt that the Mission Laique had a direct influence in the establishment of the comprehensive public education system of French West Africa in 1903, for Pierre Foncin, Minister of Colonies Doumergue and Governor-General Roume, the chief architects of the plan, were all leading members of the organization.

French commercial and industrial groups had a less discernible effect upon the educational strategies. However, the Chambers of Commerce of the leading port and industrial cities were frequently consulted by the metropolitan governments concerning colonial affairs and various firms occasionally provided vocational-technical training for the Black Africans. Officials dealing with commercial and agricultural affairs were appointed to the Superior Committee for Public Instruction of the Colonies during the second year of its operation and, subsequently, businessmen were represented directly on the Committee. The effect of these groups upon education was a practical one in that they were concerned with colonial economic development and favored an emphasis upon vocational and agricultural training.

The Role of Individuals. To determine precisely the role of identified individuals as causal agents or originators of any specific educational strategy would require numerous narrow studies in depth. However, the research conducted for this study has revealed certain individuals who appear to have played such roles or who, at least, were partially instrumental in the activation of certain strategies. Generally speaking, such personages stand out during the earlier decades of the history because of a simplicity of organization and the involvement of relatively few individuals. With the passage of time, the progressive increase in organizational complexity renders such identifications more difficult and tenuous.

Conclusion. Attempts to trace the derivation of the identified educational strategies generally lead to the causally related sources which have been presented above. The evidence indicates that endeavors derived largely from a unique source were not sustained over any long period of time because of lack of broad bases of metropolitan support. Thus, those strategies devised by individuals flourished only during their terms of office. This same generalization holds true in the case of short-lived regimes such as the Provisional Government of the Second Republic. Its ambitious plan for native vocational education was never implemented.

Conversely, strategies derived from a multiplicity of the sources presented above received more substantial and sustained implementation. The institution of a West African public school system in 1903 and the quasi-vocational orientation given to native education after World War I have been cited as notable examples. These strategies were compatible with the Zeitgeist, which is a convenient way of stating that a complex of factors led to their emergence during a specific era and created conditions favorable to their implementation.

Because of Moslem opposition to mission schools, several colonial governors attempted to establish a secular school system in West Africa, and other governors advised the metropolitan government of the necessity for such a program. Yet, until the crisis between the Church and State in France near the end of the nineteenth century prompted the metropolitan government to plan and implement such a strategy, the colonial governors' efforts and appeals were negated. The validity of the rationale for this endeavor was less of a determinant for its initiation and support than the political factors active in France.

Thus, a correlation existed between the derivation and the implementation of the educational strategies. Educational plans for Sub-Saharan Africa generated from metropolitan sources usually constituted more of a timely response to the psychological, political, and economic conditions prevalent in France than those emanating from colonial sources. This was particularly the case during the nineteenth century when the technology of communications permitted the colonial administrators more autonomy, but less knowledge of concurrent developments in the Metropole.

While it is true that recommendations for a renewed emphasis on native education emanated from the conferences at Brazzaville and Dakar near the close of the Second World War, the form and substance of this policy was developed in Paris following the reoccupation of France by the Free French regime. Thus, with few exceptions, the search for causality and derivations has led to the metropolitan scene, where generating personalities and organizations reflected the popular attitudinal trends of the given era. This conclusion is not surprising in view of the French tendency toward the centralization of initiative and authority.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES

This section sketches the development of the French educational strategies including those factors, related to the involved mechanics, which tended to abort the achievement of policy goals. Thus, it deals with the nature of the policy process, defined as the formulation and implementation of policy, and those obstacles to implementation which may be characterized as bureaucratic in nature.

The topics include the nature of the policy process, the development of the metropolitan colonial services, problems of the central administration, bureaucratic centralization and control, criticisms of the bureaucracy at the colonial level, and conclusions.

The Nature of the Policy Process. The lack of research into the metropolitan policy process concerning overseas education as well as the relative abundance of limited studies concerning French schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa itself have created the impression that the central government in Paris played little or no role in the development of education in Black Africa. This impression was enhanced by the procedure for the dissemination of metropolitan-initiated laws, decrees, ordinances, and instructions in the colonies. As the agent of the central government, the colonial governor-general or governor promulgated these regulations under his own name.

The historical sections of this study demonstrate to the contrary that the metropolitan regimes were engaged in the formulation of educational policy for Sub-Saharan Africa with the intensity of activity fluctuating from era to era. In general, the process consisted of policy formulation in the Metropole with the implementation being the responsibility of the highest colonial administrator. Obviously, both the metropolitan and the colonial agencies became involved in the entire range of the policy process with the vigorous governors contributing significantly to the formulation of policy, particularly during the period of primitive communications and organization, and with the metropolitan regimes usually assuming more control over the implementation of policy as these impediments were removed.

From the legal standpoint, three systems of legislation existed for the regulation of the French Empire. The first was the system of rule by laws enacted by the Parliament; the second consisted of the rule of decree by the executive branch of the metropolitan government; the third was the rule through gubernatorial ordinances and local colonial legislation.[1] While most French political regimes tended to employ all three of these systems, rule by metropolitan executive decree proved to be the dominant practice.[2] Although this tradition developed prior to 1854, the famous Senate Law of the third of May of that year served as the fundamental legal justification for the colonial rule by the executive for over one hundred years. In essence, the bill granted the executive the power to decree all matters not legislated by the Parliament; since the latter body passed relatively few laws concerning colonial affairs, this gave the French executive, usually in the form of a prime minister and the cabinet ministers designated by him, significant power in the realm of colonial policy-making. The minister responsible for the administration of the colonies was the pivotal point for the formulation and the direction of colonial policy, although this official was subject to the pressures and the concurrence of governmental and non-governmental organizations.[3] The cumbersome mechanics of legislation, and the disinclination of the legislators as a body to become preoccupied with colonial affairs, meant that the Parliament took little initiative in the direct formulation of foreign and colonial policy. Its chief means of indirectly influencing executive actions was financial, since the budget was voted by the Parliament.[4]

The Development of the Metropolitan Colonial Services. The regularization of the policy process for overseas education roughly paralleled similar developments in the field of general colonial policy. With the marshalling of public opinion behind the colonial endeavor during the first three decades of the Third Republic (1870-1900), the government was able to establish the legal means and the bureaucratic apparatus necessary for the systematization of the colonial operation.

Prior to that period, the responsibility for colonial affairs had been shunted about from one ministry to another, each with other primary preoccupations. The recruitment of personnel for colonial service was haphazard and ineffective; officials in the field were attached to different ministries and subject to a confusing variety of regulations and salary schedules.

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[1] George H. Kelly, The Political Development of the French Overseas Empire (unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford, n.d.), Part I, p. 384.

[2] For a concise history of the French colonial legislative system through the Fourth Republic, see Kelly, pp. 384-399.

[3] France, B.O.A.C., Loi portant création d'un Ministère des Colonies, March 20, 1894, pp. 395-396.

[4] John E. Howard, Parliament and Foreign Policy in France (London: The Cresset Press, 1948), pp. 15-16.

During the 1880's and 1890's, a whole series of decrees and laws were enacted to establish an autonomous colonial service. For example, in 1882 a semi-autonomous Under-Secretariat of State for the Colonies was established and by 1894, the Ministry of Colonies was created. A decree of January 3, 1887, regularized the civil service status of the employees of the central administration of the colonies and organized the agency into three divisions and seven bureaus. Another decree of September 2, 1887, instituted a special corps of colonial administrators. During the same year, a decree aimed at eliminating the confusion concerning the duties and authority of the high level officials in the colonies themselves was published. The colonial financial structure was undergoing scrutiny and revision at the same time. This process culminated in the famous Law of April 13, 1900, which fixed all civil and internal security expenses as the responsibility of the colonial, rather than the metropolitan, budgets.

The same type of activity was taking place in the realm of overseas education. Beginning in 1881, a series of executive decrees and ordinances appeared on personnel problems, the courses of study, examinations, and policy direction began to appear with increasing regularity. A few of the more important ones established an Educational Inspectorate-General of Public Instruction for the Colonies (1893), a Higher Committee for Public Instruction in the Colonies (1894), a comprehensive system of detaching metropolitan elementary and vocational teachers from the Ministry of Public Instruction to the Ministry of Colonies (1899), and a similar system for secondary teachers and school administrators (1902).

Internal organization within the ministries responsible for French Sub-Saharan education also evolved over a period of time. During the later decades of the nineteenth century, overseas education was administered by a bureau of two or three officials responsible for other affairs, such as justice and religion, as well. In the twentieth century, there was set up a special department for overseas education under the Ministry of Colonies and the Ministry of Overseas France. With the establishment of national independence in French tropical Africa in 1960, the Ministry of Cooperation was organized to administer French economic and cultural assistance for these new nations. The Department of Technical and Cultural Cooperation includes a large Education and Training Service with a central bureau and a desk officer for every two or three countries.

Within the Ministry of Education, a special liaison department was organized to recruit teachers for overseas service and to reintegrate them into the metropolitan system upon their return to France.[5] This agency, presently known as the Department of Cooperation with the Community and Foreign Nations, works directly with overseas professors of higher education, since the latter do not fall within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Cooperation.

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[5] There were 17,915 teachers serving overseas in 1960, including 2,809 in Sub-Saharan Africa. These figures do not include those in Algeria. Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Cooperation.

Beginning with the turn of the century, attention was also being given to "colonial education," the term employed by the French for metropolitan studies of the colonies. With the advent of a special corps of colonial administrators, a National Colonial School was established in 1889 to prepare a cadre of such personnel. In 1902, a National Higher School of Colonial Agriculture was created. In addition, the French universities were encouraged to develop a variety of courses on the colonies.

Despite the large number of educators being sent abroad, no satisfactory preparatory training course has been devised for this group. A pre-service training school established in Senegal in the nineteenth century was closed after a year or two of operation because of lack of funds. The school sponsored by the Mission Laique in Paris around the turn of the century soon passed out of existence for the same reason. At the present time, about half of the teachers annually sent to Sub-Saharan Africa attend a week's orientation course at the University of Bordeaux.

On the other hand, a small group of educators being groomed for roles as educational advisers receive excellent training in national educational planning at the University of Paris, where the emphasis is placed upon education as an integral part of national economic development.

Problems of the Central Administration. Though these developments facilitated the colonial policy process, they did not resolve all of the problems inherent in such a complicated endeavor. For example, the Ministry of Colonies was reorganized at least twenty-six times during its first thirty-six years of existence.[6] Apparently there existed a relatively consistent, if naive, conviction that the basic difficulties of the colonial operation could be resolved through reorganizations of the central bureaus.

Further, during its first sixteen years of life, the agency had thirteen changes of Ministers, and an excessive rate of turnover became the established pattern.[7] According to numerous students of the French bureaucracy, the preceding factors gave the elite class of French civil servants an unusual degree of control over the policy process.

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[6] Charles Regismanset, Questions Coloniales, 1912-1919 (Paris: Emile Larose, 1923), Vol. I, pp. 155-156.

[7] Pierre Ma, "L'Organization du Ministère des Colonies," Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, 1910, Vol. XXX, p. 299.

Interministerial relations also left the Ministry of Colonies at a disadvantage. Because it lacked the traditions and prestige of the older ministries, it was constantly being undercut. The process was made easier by the Ministry's dependence upon other agencies for its technical services. The Ministry of Finance could be cited as an outstanding example of such an organization, although the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, and Education should not be omitted.

Another problem which plagued the conduct of colonial policy was the separation of responsibility for the colonial territories between the Ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, and the Colonies. In French Africa, these three Ministries had control over three adjoining territories, Algeria, Morocco, and West Africa. Friction and lack of coordination between these agencies often resulted in conflicting policies.

The operations within the Ministry of Colonies was confused by the extensive use of consultative bodies. At one time, thirty-three of these committees existed, with some having a membership of forty individuals drawn from numerous organizations in the public and private sector.

As previously noted, the internal organization of the Ministry proper was also subject to constant modification. Arguments persisted as to whether the central administration should be organized by technical divisions such as political affairs, economic affairs, justice, education, and religious affairs, or by geographical areas. Reorganizations were made as one argument prevailed over the other.

The Ministry of Overseas France (1946-1960) and the Ministry of Cooperation (1960-   ), succeeding agencies responsible for French Sub-Saharan Africa, did not escape from these problems of structure and function. As a consequence of the war and the loss of a goodly number of bureaucrats because of their service with the Vichy regime, the government agencies of the post-war period suffered from a serious shortage of experienced personnel. In addition, the Fourth Republic (1945-1958) was plagued with an excessively high rate of governmental failure.

This situation tended to increase the difficulties arising out of the implementation of the accelerated educational development program formulated for Sub-Saharan Africa in 1944 and 1945. The interdepartmental friction and the lack of coordination between the Director of Education and the Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Colonies, shortly before it became the Ministry of Overseas France, serves as a specific example of this problem.

In replacing the Ministry of Overseas France in 1960, the Ministry of Cooperation has suffered from organizational troubles derived from its hasty formation during the period when the French Sub-Saharan territories opted for independence. Suddenly detached from other ministries, key officials in the new organization found themselves with neither the experience nor the staff effectively to carry out their tasks. Even such mundane requirements as office equipment could not be obtained in adequate amounts after a year of operation.[8] Because of these handicaps and the tendency to depreciate new agencies, the Ministry of Cooperation has acquired a widespread reputation for inefficiency.[9]

Its prestige undoubtedly suffered further when one of its three original departments, that of political affairs, was taken over by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the Ministry of Cooperation has to compete with that of Foreign Affairs for teachers and funds, as both of these agencies operate overseas education programs. Since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the more established and prestigious agency, is responsible for relations with, and operations in, former colonies of more importance to France than those in Sub-Saharan Africa, the officials in the Ministry of Cooperation find themselves handicapped in this competition. They question the wisdom of having two independent agencies operating similar programs of foreign aid but for a different set of countries.[10] These situations, derived from a traditional division of bureaucratic responsibilities, illustrate how organizational complexities add to the problems of the policy process.

Bureaucratic Centralization and Control. A constant characteristic of the French bureaucratic system which has affected the policy process is the extreme centralization of intra-ministerial authority and the elaborate measures of control. A study of past colonial administrative and financial directives reveals that tendencies to relax the central control in order to encourage local colonial initiative were invariably followed by new restrictive measures which could only curtail it. Every action in recognition of the desirability of increased local autonomy appears to have provoked a reaction based upon an urge to exercise greater control at the central ministerial administrative level. This phenomenon often resulted from a newly appointed minister's desire to stimulate greater progress within the colonies, followed by a counter-urge on the part of the civil servants in the central bureaus to control the local activities in their area of responsibilities. Because of the rapid turnover of governments and ministers as well as the relatively permanent presence of the bureaucrats, the end result appears to have consisted of a great deal of lip service to the principle of local initiative without a corresponding degree of practical implementation.

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[8] Established through interviews with Ministry of Cooperation officials. According to them, a considerable amount of the work, which should have been done within the Ministry, had to be contracted out to other agencies because of these deficiencies.

[9] Volunteered by French officials in various agencies of other ministries. The writer was interviewing one such official when the latter received a call from the Ministry of Cooperation for certain information. The interviewee informed the caller that the information was available at his own ministry and, after the conclusion of the conversation, volunteered that the Ministry of Cooperation had a poor reputation.

[10] Based upon interviews with Ministry of Cooperation officials.

Control of another type was more than adequate; France has maintained an elaborate system of inspection which, according to Regismanset, is derived from the natural French tendency to be suspicious and critical of the public administration.[11] He claimed the inspectors are not only quantitatively excessive, but that they are not held sufficiently accountable for their work which, typically, exerted negative influence upon the policy process.[12]

Criticisms of the Bureaucracy at the Colonial Level. The structure and function of the local colonial governments was the object of as much criticism as the central administration in Paris. Scholars and former administrators attacked the high rate of gubernatorial turnover as well as a host of other characteristics. The ministry frequently chided the colonial regimes for their inadequate response to metropolitan regulations; the governors complained of their lack of control over certain colonial sectors such as finances and the military, and, more pertinent to this study, certain educators complained of the local bureaucratic resistance to native education.

Referring to the educational policy process in West Africa, Hardy commented as follows in 1917:

> A long and perilous voyage exists for the governor-general's ordinance or circular designed at educational reform; when the poor text arrives at the end of its journey, it has been jostled by so many hands, sequestered by so many bureaus that it is often diminished, distorted, and unusable.[13]

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[11] Regismanset, *Questions Coloniales, 1912-1919*, Vol. I, p. 222.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[13] Hardy, *Une Conquête Morale--L'Enseignement en Afrique Occidentale Francaise* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1917), p. 20.

While remarking that the personnel making up the French West African educational inspectorate system had been vastly improved since 1913, Hardy stated that he did not expect the general colonial administrative operation to change for a long time. This operation, according to Hardy, was detrimental to the educational program because of excessive red tape, slowness in the transmission of orders, and the distortion of the original instructions. More important, certain administrators, convinced that native education and domination were antinomic, actually impeded the development of education.[14]

After completing his service in French West Africa, Hardy became recognized as a leading authority on French overseas education; as such, in 1955 he was asked to respond to criticism of this education based on its severely limited quantitative results. Among the points made in the reply was the essential need for a resolute bureaucratic decentralization with a corresponding development of local initiative. While noting that certain administrative heads resisted progress by juggling specific problems with a thousand imaginary ones, Hardy particularly criticized the persistent centralizing habit and the concurrent reluctance of officials to divide authority with those at lower levels and of other services.[15]

He stated that the development of mass education required a deep knowledge of the indigenous milieu, persevering initiative, prompt decisions, and constant recourse to the "means at hand" which could be effected only through a thoroughly decentralized system.[16] A second prerequisite was the abandonment of the metropolitan system as the model for overseas education. Louis Vignon had decried this copying of the French model some three decades earlier. Denouncing the tendency to "*faire grand*," "*digne de la France*," Vignon claimed that educational policy was derived from political rather than pedagogical considerations.[17]

On the other hand, some of these former colonial education administrators, presently serving as advisers in Sub-Saharan Africa, are resisting attempts by the Ministry of Cooperation to develop special educational strategies which deviate from the traditional French pattern. These traditionalists, supporters of high standards and the classical curriculum, apparently are unaware of or unconcerned about the need to relate human resource development to manpower requirements and cultural realities. In certain Black African countries their presence at the level of implementation has tended to abort the emerging metropolitan concern to develop a financially feasible system of mass elementary education related to national economic development.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[15] Georges Hardy, "Une solution paresseuse sous des dehors ambitieux: l'expansion scolaire outre-mer sur le modèle de l'Europe," *Marches Coloniaux du Monde*, March 12, 1955, p. 696.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 695.

[17] Louis Vignon, *Un Programme de Politique Coloniale. Les Questions Indigènes* (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1919), p. 502.

Thus, from the real initiation of French education in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1816 until the present day, difficulties related to colonial organizational structure and function have beset the educational endeavor. If one accepts Hardy's thesis, officials opposed or indifferent to given policies for native education, as well as the weaknesses of the centralized bureaucracy, have hampered the development of education as much as the natural impediments imposed by the environment and financial limitations.[18]

Conclusion. A review of the history of French Sub-Saharan educational strategies indicates that, in general, policy formulation was a metropolitan function with the implementation of policy being the responsibility of the authorities at the colonial level. For about eighty-five years (1815-1900), neither the metropolitan nor the colonial governments had substantial, formal organizations specifically designed to initiate and implement educational policy. This lack of mechanism was not a widely recognized hindrance as long as the operation remained limited; but with the conclusion of the military conquest and pacification phases of Sub-Saharan colonialism, the void became so obvious that pro-colonial intellectuals and politicians formed pressure groups to influence public opinion and to force the government into action.

As a result, the metropolitan specialized agencies began to take form in the 1880's and 1890's and the formal organization of French West African public education was instituted shortly after the turn of the century. These structures made possible the transfer of large numbers of metropolitan educators to overseas positions with a minimum of professional dislocation. It also made it practical for the metropolitan government to supervise overseas education more closely than previously.

However, the development of educational strategies according to the dictates of metropolitan policy has left much to be desired. Although this will be discussed further in the concluding section, it is pertinent to emphasize in the context of this chapter that bureaucratic dissonance has handicapped the execution of the policy process.

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[18] Hardy, "Une solution paresseuse . . . ," pp. 695-696.

As mentioned previously, that process generally consisted of policy planning by metropolitan politicians at the ministerial level and of the planning and supervision of policy-implementing actions at the level of the governments-general. In this procedure, both the quantitative and qualitative implementation of major policy objectives met with considerable bureaucratic resistance. In addition to the inherent delays and limitations imposed by the bureaucratic distance between policy conception and grass-root implementation, civil servants, particularly at the colonial level, deliberately frustrated policy intentions.

For example, many French colonial administrators opposed the quantitative expansion of native education on the grounds that education would lead to a revolt against French authority. Further, considering the perennial limitations of funds, they preferred to grant priorities to infrastructure projects related to communications, transportation, and agricultural production. Since colonial and social development had to be financed by local revenue, they possessed the means to place limitations upon the expansion of native education. Thus, the financial aspects of French colonial policy severely limited the pursuit of the social objectives of that same policy.

In turn, many French educators in the colonial service resisted policy aimed at the modification of the metropolitan curriculum and organization. There is no doubt that over the years a significant number of these educators have viewed the adaptation of the French system as undesirable distortion and an unnecessary destruction of quality education. Even today, as previously indicated, the educational strategies drawn up by teams of economists and educators within the Ministry of Cooperation are being resisted by tradition-minded French education advisers in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Thus, the development of educational strategies has been subject to significant organizational problems involving poor communication, inter-agency friction and jealousy, and the constant turnover of the policy-makers at the ministerial level which has placed power in the hands of the permanent bureaucracy and weakened the implementation of policy innovations.

In short, these characteristics, as well as others to be discussed in the concluding chapter, have tended to frustrate the development of educational strategies in accordance with policy objectives. Hence, the discrepancy between metropolitan policy and colonial grass-root implementation has been caused in part by the mechanics of the policy process and the attitudes and actions of the officials staffing the structures and executing the functions.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the title of this chapter, no effort has been made to repeat all of the findings revealed in the previous sections. Actually, the preceding three chapters, as well as this final one, constitute the conclusion because they represent the analysis of the historical material.

The first topic dealt with below is the important one of emphasizing, in a summary fashion, the quantitative and qualitative discrepancies between goals and outcomes previously detailed. In the same general approach, reasons are suggested for these discrepancies. However, in keeping with the orientation of this research, these comments pertain more to the problems generated by the French themselves than to those derived from the African cultural and physical environment. A third section reviews the ultimate intent behind the French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa and refers to the present status of the fulfillment of these objectives. The fourth section presents a synopsis of the findings of the study, and the following one lists seven generalizations derived from the study and judged to be of universal pertinence. The chapter concludes with a brief indication of the areas needing further study.

The Discrepancies Between Goals and Outcomes. The comparison of policy objectives with actual outcomes reveals a significant variance between the two. This fact holds true whether one employs metropolitan-stated goals or those detailed in the annual reports of the French Sub-Saharan governments.

From the quantitative point of view, the small percentages of school attendees in relation to the school-age population have been noted by numerous authors. Of less common knowledge is the fact that the rapid expansion of primary education has been a high priority target in French Black Africa for at least the past forty-three years (1919-1962). Indeed, through the entire period under study (1816-1962), generalized policy statements refer to the urgency of developing extensive systems of mass and vocational education. Even if one discounts many of the earlier statements of objectives as being ambitious, long-range goals without definite target dates, and focuses on relatively recent development plans, the quantitative achievements have not measured up to projected outcomes. For example, as late as 1946 the education development plan, incorporated in the General Plan for Modernization and Equipment for the Overseas Territories, called for the enrollment of 30% of the total school-age population of Sub-Saharan Africa within ten years.[1] Yet, at the end of ten years, in December 1956, the figure for Equatorial Africa stood at 21.3%,[2] and the eight territories comprising French West Africa had a school population of 13.4% of the estimated school-age population.[3] Also, at the end of the ten-year plan, French West Africa was supposed to have 50% of the school-age population completing six years of primary education and this goal has not been achieved even today. From 1938 to 1956, the school population as compared to the school-age population in French West Africa rose from 3.2% to only 13.4%.[4] In Senegal, where French education was initiated in 1816, only 28% of the school-age population was enrolled in school by 1960.[5] A target of the first four-year plan of Senegal aimed at passing the 50% mark in 1964 as far as primary-age pupils are concerned.[6]

A second major area of discrepancy between objectives and outcomes is found in the qualitative adaptation of French education to local realities and needs. Except for brief instances during the Primitive Period (1816-1870) and the era from the Second World War to 1960, metropolitan policy supported the theory of adaptation.

Despite this emphasis at the level of theory or policy, and the special structural organization of the French Black African rural school system, the curriculum, methodology, and examinations progressively assumed the characteristics of the metropolitan system. Oddly enough, many significant officials including ministers of colonies, colonial governors, and high echelon educators were aware of this tendency, condemned it, and attempted to counteract it. Nevertheless, as the historical record has revealed, their efforts, even when backed by formal policy doctrine, generally did not prevail against the forces of tradition.

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[1] France, Annuaire Statistique de l'Union Francaise Outre-Mer, 1939-1949, p. 211.

[2] France, M.F.O.M., Enseignement Outre-Mer, No. 8, p. 19.

[3] France, L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1956, p. 105. The figure of 13.4% may be too high, since the total population may have been underestimated and only 15% of the total figure were estimated as being of school age. The source cited in the preceding footnote places the figure at 11.6%.

[4] Ibid.

[5] République du Sénégal, Plan Quadriennal de Développement 1961-1964, 1961, p. 2.

[6] Based upon interviews with Ministry of Education officials, Republic of Senegal. Statistics for some nations of Equatorial Africa such as Gabon have shown spectacular increases within the past few years; however, these questionable statistics do not reflect the quality of such education where from 75 to 150 pupils may be found in one first grade classroom, with enormous dropout rates after the second grade. (Based upon 1961-62 unpublished research reports, Seminar of Educational Planning, Institute for the Study of Economic and Social Development, University of Paris.)

Suggested Reasons for Discrepancies Between Theory and Fact. When one compares the texts of the major policy declarations and of the comprehensive French Sub-Saharan education acts with the educational statistics, the commentaries of critics, and the results of personal, on-the-spot inspection, the discrepancies between theory and fact become very apparent. Among the reasons for this distinction lies the French tendency to place theory before reality.[7] The characteristic of employing the rational rather than the empirical method naturally leads to a gap between the expressed ideal and the accomplished fact. If one accepts the following thesis as valid, the French are unconcerned with such gaps: "Principles and ideals are the heart and soul of our politics, but their eventual application often remains a matter of quasi-indifference."[8] (Author's italics.)

This gap is further widened under a highly centralized system in which the ideational innovators are far removed from the operational implementors. Further, when the policy-makers are subject to frequent displacements, the chances of obtaining a successful implementation are reduced because the permanent bureaucracy exerts an unusual control over the policy implementation process in that those most concerned with translating plans into action, the policy formulators, do not remain in the position of authority long enough to supervise the execution of policy.

In this study, the evidence indicates that significant numbers of colonial administrators opposed the extensive development of native education because they believed it constituted a threat to the continued dominance by France, as well as to their own job security. On the other hand, the French educators, as a group, tended to resist educational changes running counter to their traditional training and rigid concept of quality education.

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[7] Paul Giran, De l'Education des Races--Étude de Sociologie Coloniale (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1913), p. 309.

[8] André Siegfried, France, A Study in Nationality (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 25.

The French colonial financial policy was a formidable ally of the first group in the retardation of native education. As previously noted, this policy, finalized in 1900, obligated each colony to pay for all its own expenses other than those arising from the presence of military forces designed to resist external military invasions. In brief, the colonies were self-supporting and, in addition, had to contribute to metropolitan expenses incurred in connection with colonial affairs such as the training of French colonial administrators.

Further, through metropolitan decrees, certain types of expenditures were ruled as obligatory categories of the colonial budgets and had to be financed before non-obligatory categories could be supported. Since native education fell under the latter classification, it not only suffered from being classified as an optional expenditure, but it had to compete with similarly categorized activities which were often more appealing to colonial administrators.

The education of the mass was the hardest hit as a result of this policy, because the support for elementary education was derived from the local colonies' budgets. Head taxes constituted the major source of revenue for these budgets, already inadequate to meet the multiple requirements imposed upon them.

Thus, colonial financial policy conflicted with the colonial social policy. Ministers of colonies issued eloquent declarations related to the development of education, but seldom became so specific or persistent in their statements and follow-up procedures as to force significant upward revisions in local colonial expenditures for native education. Obviously, the French colonial administrators had to respond to metropolitan policy and, while it should be recognized that many significant changes resulted from this stimulus, frequently the responses took the form of modifications which, if requiring substantial additional funding, were set up for long-term implementation without definite deadlines. The important exceptions to this pattern occurred following major upheavals or events in the Metropole when new, or renewed, policies were pursued with a vigor emanating from the preceding period of turbulence and the resultant forces of change.

The implemental difficulties encountered by the policy-makers in the adaptation of metropolitan education to Sub-Saharan cultural realities and socio-economic needs, as interpreted by the French, came from other sources. The most potent of these was the colonial cadre of French educators who tended to transmit the metropolitan educational tradition despite formal policy and the adaptation of the organizational structure of the French Sub-Saharan school system outside of the city centers.

The teachers, as a group, opposed the principle of adaptation on several grounds. By and large, they represented the politically liberal

French faction which tended to advocate equal rights for the colonial indigenous peoples. Obviously, this implied the right to an equal, or metropolitan, education. Further, accepting the right of the native to be educated, the French teacher saw little or no value in diluting the quality of metropolitan education through the inclusion of elements of an inferior culture.

Referring specifically to the metropolitan teachers, Professor Gourou sagely concluded that there could not be an adapted system of education without adapted teachers.[9]

Along with this problem of the reorientation of teachers lay the crucial obstacle of the examination system. When the French educators began to introduce this system in French Sub-Saharan Africa, they automatically brought to the curriculum a rigidity resistant to the innovations of adaptation. Obviously, there could be little or no curricular modification without a prior elimination, or substantive modification, of the examination system.

The application of the principle of adaptation was also hindered by the lack of textbooks written specifically for Tropical Africa. Since French educational methodology demands a relatively close adherence to the textbook, the average classroom teacher was unlikely to be concerned with innovation except in the absence of textbooks.

The greatest degree of innovation was required in relating French overseas education to colonial economic development. Despite the recognition of this need by the metropolitan governments as gauged by their policy statements, the actual quantitative and qualitative outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa indicate that their attempts to convert principle into fact met with very limited success. One of the major reasons for this lack of achievement stems from the anti-technical bias of French education. Since the end of the Second World War, the French government has waged a consistent campaign to improve the quality and prestige of technical education.

Thus, the French educational system lacked the flexibility to adapt to the needs and realities of Sub-Saharan Africa, even as determined by the French themselves. Of course, the subject of educational adaptation is one which lends itself much more readily to generalization than to practical application. A review of the literature concerning the problem suggests a schizoid tendency on the part of the French alternately to espouse and reject the principle. On one hand, the French attempt to assimilate the indigenous peoples into what they consider the most universal of cultures, argued against much of a curricular

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9. Gourou, Rapport Général, p. 310.

adaptation. On the other hand, the French concern not to sow the seeds of indigenous discontent through an inappropriate education argued for such an adaptation.

The policy of assimilation, re-established after World War II as the means of creating a Greater France capable of vying on equal terms with the United States and Russia, temporarily ameliorated the complexities involved in the adaptation of education. The Black African, whose grandfather probably had resisted the idea of a French education, demanded and received, insofar as it was possible, the equivalence of the metropolitan school system.

However, with the advent of the independence of the Sub-Saharan states, the French reverted to the policy, and hence to the problems, of adaptation because of the impossibility of extending education, and the French language, to the Black African masses via the high cost metropolitan system. But the problems of adaptation--of funding, and of obtaining in general a better correlation between centralized planning and grass-root implementation, among the most significant reasons for the discrepancies between planned objectives and actual outcomes--remain to be solved.

The Achievement of the Ultimate Intent. It will be recalled that the ultimate intent of French educational strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa has been to assure the psychological or cultural assimilation of the Black African in order to maintain French influence and prestige regardless of political and economic eventualities. The object has been to create a Gallicized world which will provide France with the means to participate in international politics on equal terms with the other great powers of the world, and to project the image and prestige of France as the torchbearer of universal civilization.

Whether progress toward the implementation of this intent has been sufficient to predict a successful final outcome is a matter of conjecture. Certainly, the fact of independence has preceded the completion of the task of Frenchification, but the evidence gathered in this study indicates the metropolitan leadership remains optimistic concerning the ultimate outcomes.[10] Attempts at the Africanization of culture are viewed as a natural consequence of independence, but as an impossibility beyond a superficial degree. The real interest of the Black African leadership is interpreted as finding expression in their attempts to develop viable, modern economies. The extension of French as the national language of the new Sub-Saharan states serves these interests as much as it does that of the French policy.

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[10] Based upon interviews and observation in Paris and Senegal in 1961-62.

Nevertheless, the French are not complacent in terms of their pursuit of the ultimate goal. They have planned the long-term expansion of technical assistance in the field of education, and the efforts of UNESCO to encourage the development of indigenous languages as the medium of mass literacy programs are opposed covertly.

A Synopsis of Findings. One of the most obvious conclusions emerging from the study is the consistent effort of the French to employ culture and language as a subtle means of permanent imperialism. In this context, the most formidable enemy has been the English-speaking nations. The current manifestation of disengagement from England and the United States appears to be a natural outcome of the present position of French strength which permits her openly to pursue an independent policy of aggrandizement based upon the third world power theme.

This theme in itself has a foundation in the French belief in the universality of their culture, which is viewed as presently offering a haven for those peoples seeking refuge from the dictates of the American and Russian international power struggle. However, this belief has been accompanied by more ulterior motives, such as the struggle for international political power and economic gain.

The basic strategy behind the educational endeavor for Sub-Saharan Africa consisted of the direct assimilation of an elite into the French culture and the development of a Franco-African mass culture which, over a period of time, would become progressively Gallicized. The assimilated African elite were to serve as the active agents in the continuing Frenchification of the mass culture.

Although the attempts to assimilate and coopt an African elite have not been wholly successful, the basic strategy described above remains active, and as valid in the present era of African independence as in the colonial period. The fact is that the elite, who served as the active agents of Frenchification during the pre-independence period, often in the role of teachers, continue to function as agents in their new roles as chiefs of state. Their drives to develop unified, modern states largely depend upon Gallicization as a means of overcoming the traditional indigenous cultural patterns which passively or actively operate against such drives.

The French ability to portray their culture as being the most universal and highest form of Western civilization is derived from several sources: their belief in the national myth that France inherited the role previously assumed by Greece and Rome; their relative lack of racial prejudice; and their ability, at least through 1960, to isolate the French-speaking Black Africans from extensive contact with cultures other than their own.

In this last regard, it can be expected that the French will oppose, overtly in specific instances but covertly in most cases, the intrusions of English-speaking powers in former French colonies, particularly in the realm of cultural projects. The French policy in this matter has a lengthy and consistent history which cannot be ignored.

The policy of psychological or cultural assimilation must be differentiated from the concept of assimilation as generally employed in connection with French colonial policy. The latter principle remained impossible to implement because, carried to its logical conclusion, it implied the complete socio-economic assimilation of the colonies into a Greater France, which meant that the colonies in fact would control the Metropole through a numerically superior political representation in a common government. The impasse of ultimate political assimilation argued for the vigorous pursuit of psychological or cultural assimilation, particularly in Black Africa where the resistance derived from the indigenous cultural tradition was virtually nonexistent as compared to that of North Africa or the Far East.

As viewed by the French, the major problem of assimilation in Sub-Saharan Africa lay in the uprooting of the masses from the land and in the unintentional creation of a revolutionary leadership through the overproduction of an intellectual elite for which no employment could be guaranteed. Although the fear is expressed frequently in the documentation, the point of overproduction of an intellectual elite was not reached in Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

In similar fashion, the problem of uprooting the mass through an exposure to education never reached the dangerous stage during the French rule because of the limited educational opportunities available to the rural youth. Nevertheless, the French policy-makers stressed the adaptation of education and in fact, prior to 1945, the French Sub-Saharan schools were organized into a rural and an urban track, with the latter subdivided into indigenous and metropolitan subdivisions.

However, this structural adaptation was not complemented by a successful curricular and methodological adaptation. Though there appear to be many contributing causes for this latter failure, the non-adaptability of the French educator and his African counterpart seem to have constituted a major factor. In turn, this lack of flexibility appears derived from the omission or inadequacy of specialized training for overseas education as well as from a natural inclination to resist innovation.

The policy of educational adaptation was abruptly abandoned after the Second World War for political reasons--the creation of a Greater

France through assimilation. With the advent of Sub-Saharan independence in 1960, the metropolitan policy-makers renewed the policy of adaptation because it is obvious that the African nations could not attain their quantitative educational goals if they retain replicas of the metropolitan system with its high per-pupil cost ratio.

The present French strategy, based upon a more rapid Frenchification of the mass and a closer relationship between education and economic development, stresses a four-year rather than a six-year primary education, a special literacy-agricultural program for the adolescent illiterate rural youth, and the training of educators and economists in the skills of educational planning in order to assure a school system more responsive to the national development needs of emerging nations. However, major reforms of the curriculum, of the teaching methodology, and of the training of teachers would seem to be indicated if the French are to reverse their pattern of paper reforms without significant local change.

One of the most notorious failures of the adaptation of the curriculum resulted from the attempt between the two World Wars to introduce rudimentary agricultural education in the rural schools at the elementary level. In terms of both the plans as stated in metropolitan policy declarations and the analyses of French critics, vocational and technical training should be included in those educational endeavors in French Sub-Saharan Africa which failed to produce adequate results from either quantitative or qualitative standpoints.

A major cause of these quantitative and qualitative failures in primary, vocational, and technical education was the failure to implement metropolitan policy with metropolitan funds. Although the policy was defined in clear and remarkably consistent terms between 1903 and 1946, and the derived strategies planned in logical detail, the grass-root implementation lagged because of lack of funds in the colonies to pursue the policy and fulfill the plans.

The assignation of the funding of native education as a financial responsibility of the colonies placed a weapon in the hands of colonial administrators who, as a group, sided with the French _colon_ or _petit blanc_ in opposition to the education of the Africans because this threatened the continued domination of France and their own job security.

These bureaucrats were able to maintain an unusual influence over the implementation of policy because of the consistently rapid turnover of governments, ministers, and governors. Through a knowledge of the jungle of regulations, the control of the administration of the implemental services, and the realization that the rapid displacement of policy-makers allowed the latter little means of supervising the policy process, the bureaucrat remained a serious obstacle to be overcome by policy innovators.

Both the innovation of policy and metropolitan insistence upon the implementation of such policy occurred in a cyclic fashion. After a major upheaval and the ensuing resolution of the crisis in the Metropole, a fresh impetus to overseas education often was imparted. But each period of vigor was followed by a stage of progressive stagnation or inactivity.

In concluding this review of findings, the following comments summarize the above discussion. The French educational endeavor in Sub-Saharan Africa had many positive aspects: a firm ultimate purpose, guidance from time to time by perceptive planners of grand strategy, and a continuing organization based on logical educational plans from 1903 on. These constructive factors were counterposed by a serious lack of financial support for the education program in the colonies, miserably inadequate implementation at the grass-root level, and rapid turnover in the top administrative echelons.

Generalizations. It should be pointed out that the following statements might be referred to more accurately as hypotheses abstracted from the French experience and requiring further verification in comparable studies. Further, these generalizations, derived largely from historical colonial experiences, are expressed in terms of current events. In this attempt to relate the past to the present, it is recognized that a difference exists in the variables.

1. Overseas education serves as a significant weapon in the international power struggle to influence foreign peoples. Whether one refers to the colonial education of the past or the overseas development education of the present, this activity constitutes an instrument of foreign or colonial policy. The investment in such educational endeavors is proportionate to the calculated return to the donor nation rather than to the needs of the recipient, although clearly the latter factor may be closely related to the former

2. Foreign assistance is subject to cyclic fluctuation. The amount of foreign assistance granted by a nation is determined largely by its internal political and economic zeitgeist, although this internal condition is affected significantly by external events. Donor nations tend to render assistance in cyclic patterns, with surges of quantitative increases after periods of major upheavals being followed by progressive declines during periods of relative national and international tranquillity.

3. Foreign assistance agencies suffer from the reorganization syndrome. Foreign assistance is inherently a controversial activity because it expends national funds internationally, usually without the concrete, measurable returns expected by the general public. Therefore, the administering agencies are subject to periodic reorganizations in order to institute reforms and meet criticisms.

4. Bureaucratic resistance tends to abort the implementation of policy. Policy-makers at the head of complex bureaucracies frequently lack the ability or the means to control the implementation of policy. Policy innovations may be partially or wholly negated if they threaten the security of the bureaucrats or require a substantial adaptation on the part of the latter. Policy-makers are subject to frequent displacement and lack the powers of reward and punishment as well as the degree of supervision necessary to ensure vigorous implemental action.

5. Centralized planning has tended to fix targets but not to assure outcomes. Centralized national or high echelon planning has suffered from a priori rationalistic or highly statistical approaches which have tended to neglect the resolution of the problems of implementation.

6. Education for economic development has emphasized structural, but not curricular and teacher-training, modification. The adaptation of education to meet the needs of economic development in the emerging countries has consisted largely of organizational modifications. For example, in gene[illegible] the conversion of the core of the elementary school curriculum from a classical language arts to a socio-economic emphasis has not occurred, nor has the training of teachers been modified sufficiently to enable them to deviate from the literary tradition.

7. Educational systems in emerging countries require technical schools with a flexible curriculum and polyvalent instructors. To train skilled technicians in a variety of specialities such as electro-mechanics and telecommunications, emerging nations need to supplement the outdated classical technical school, with its annual production of the same type of specialists, with well-equipped schools capable of enough flexibility to change from one course to another according to the priorities emanating from manpower requirement forecasts.

Recommendations for Further Study. By the nature of its scope, the present study has been limited to exposing the problems and complexities related to the French educational policy process for Sub-Saharan Africa. There is a need to research, in greater depth, certain periods and programs briefly mentioned in this presentation.

A study of educational development in Black Africa under the impetus of the FIDES and FERDES programs following the Second World War should reveal a host of insights pertinent to current educational problems in the region. For example, if it is true that the FIDES school construction program had to be halted because the African territories could not pay for their operation and maintenance, how will the new nations be able to assume the financial burden imposed by the rash of elaborate educational institutions now being constructed through foreign grants or long-term, low-interest loans and staffed through technical assistance?

Obviously, a study of this type might be conducted by a financial expert; however, there is a need for several varieties of specialists to conduct research in the field. Historical research into the grass-root implementation in the colonies is required.

The purpose of such a focus would not be to vilify the French but to comprehend the sociological and educational problems involved in the obviously difficult task of adapting a school system to a completely foreign cultural and physical milieu. Related to this topic is the effect of this schooling upon the students and their families from the psychological and sociological point of view. Although progress has been made in this type of research, more comprehensive and sophisticated studies need to be conducted. The same verity applies to the sociology of formal organization; the unanticipated consequences of organized action and the discrepancies between policy and outcomes noted in this study require an analysis in depth if sufficiently detailed and accurate findings are to be made available for comparative studies.

Further explorations in the relationship between education and politics also are pertinent. The evidence indicates that French political factors and events greatly influenced the development and the initiation of many of the significant strategies described in this study.

Manifestly, the relationship between economic development and education needs to be studied in Sub-Saharan Africa. The techniques of forecasting manpower requirements and of educational planning to schedule training according to these requirements have been introduced in the region, but results of this introduction should be evaluated.

Studies are needed also in many other phases of the current educational endeavors in French-speaking Black Africa. The reasons for the extremely high dropout rate should be determined in order that a remedy may be found. The same need applies to the high per capita cost of Franco-African schooling which frustrates the best intentions to extend education to the indigenous peoples. Research into the effectiveness and adaptation of the curriculum would be of significant value as well.

Indeed, if there is one safe conclusion to be drawn from this present study, it is that the research has raised many more questions than it has answered. Education is a complex process; when applied cross-culturally, the increased complexities offer innumerable significant research opportunities which have yet to be explored.

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